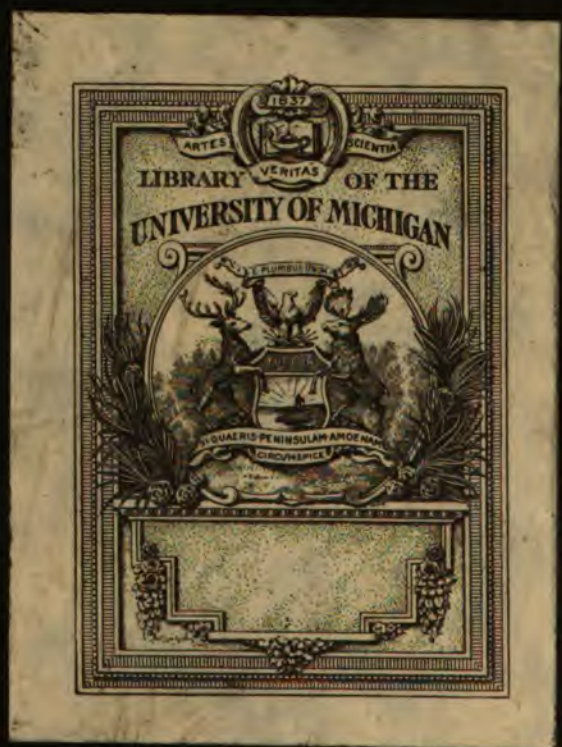
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THE

CRITICAL REVIEW

OF

THEOLOGICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

EDITED BY

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A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges.

By George F. Moore, D.D., Professor of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 12s.

THE need of a good commentary upon the Book of Judges has long been felt. The book presents peculiar difficulties; at the same time it is one of quite peculiar value in the history of the literature of Israel. For homiletical purposes it has naturally never been a favourite; and as a consequence it has been neglected by commentators, both Patristic, Mediæval, and Modern. The rise of historical criticism in our own day has quite altered the aspect of Biblical Hermeneutics. For some considerable time it has been recognised that the Book of Judges demanded a far more thorough and systematic investigation than it had hitherto received. The little commentary by Black in *The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools*, quite admirable in its way, showed how much might reasonably be expected from a larger work.

It is doubtless an advantage that the book stands outside the Hexateuch. It is possible to view the problems of structure, historical character, and religious institutions which the Book of Judges suggests, with a far greater degree of calmness than when the same questions are discussed in connection with the books of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. This may be a humiliating confession to have to make; but it indicates one of the grounds for satisfaction at the timely appearance of the present volume.

After Canon Driver's *Deuteronomy*, many of us have wondered what the next volume in Messrs T. & T. Clark's *International Critical Commentary* would be. Could the standard of excellence in the Old Testament work be maintained by the scholars who were to follow him? This was a question which was somewhat anxiously put on many sides. Professor Moore was not well known in England. Not many people study the American *Journal of Biblical Literature*. Very few among us, it is to be feared, take much interest in the progress of theological studies in other countries. We are ignorant of our neighbours' best men. But all anxieties are dispelled by the present volume. The selection of Professor Moore was evidently a most judicious one. The amount of real work and wide reading which has been packed into this commentary, without overloading it, is most admirable. The "bibliographical" references appear to be as complete as it was possible to make them. The discussion of words, of grammar and idiom, though necessarily brief, shows a thorough grasp of the Hebrew language and a sound

scholarship. I think it may safely be averred that so full and scientific a commentary upon the text and subject matter of the Book of Judges has never been produced in the English language.

So careful and scholarly a work could not ignore the difficulties presented by the literary structure of the book. And here Professor Moore shows himself to be completely in accord with the best and most sober lines of modern criticism. He acknowledges his indebtedness, as surely all Hebrew scholars must, to Professor Budde's brilliant investigations. But Professor Moore is quite able to take an independent line. He has no fondness for novelty and ingenuity as such. He handles critical questions with great sobriety. Students in England and Scotland will welcome another name added to the list of men who have no love of change for change's sake, but who are quite resolved to admit such changes of view as the evidence of the best scholarship seems to demand.

Professor Moore faces the difficulties which are presented by the text of Judges with candour and courage. He does not hesitate to contrast Judges i. 1—ii. 6 with the narrative in Joshua; and to state the reasons which compel him to regard the opening section of Judges as a fragment from an ancient historical source of superior worth. The bulk of the book (ch. ii. 6—xvi. 31) was composed, in Professor Moore's opinion, by one of the Deuteronomic school of writers *upon the basis of a pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges.* This theory seems most satisfactorily to meet the requirements of the case; since the peculiarities of the Deuteronomic style appear conspicuously in the opening section (ch. ii. 6—iii. 6) and at the beginning of the histories of the several judges, while the narratives themselves, with the exception of that of Othniel (iii. 7-11), show few signs of the distinctive Deuteronomic characteristics.

It is a matter of great interest and importance that Professor Moore, while ascribing the *composition* of this pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges to the seventh century, has no doubt that it was itself derived from different sources. This explanation alone can account for the contradictions and minor irregularities which appear in the narratives, *e.g.* of Gideon and of Deborah and Barak. These histories, it is now recognised by nearly all scholars, must have been current among the Israelites in versions slightly differing from one another. Their points of difference can still be traced, even after their combination, beneath the surface of an apparent homogeneity. Upon the question, whether or no these slightly divergent original sources of the pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges are to be identified with the J and E of the Hexateuch, Professor Moore wisely declines to give any very decisive opinion. He evidently inclines himself to this view, which Budde has warmly advocated. Obviously it is a question requiring the

utmost nicety of judgment and the most patient balancing of minute detail. Professor Moore believes that the original (JE) historical work continued at least as far as the beginnings of the Israelite monarchy. But he adds the opportune warning that "J and E represent, not individual authors, but a succession of writers, the historiography of a certain period and school" (p. xxvi.).

In the concluding portion of the book Professor Moore has to deal with a section of notorious difficulty. And his treatment of it is a good instance of his courage and of his wisdom. He considers that chaps. xvii.-xviii. present the recension of a narrative, which in its primary version must have belonged to the most ancient material preserved in the book. The story of the outrage at Gibeah and the tribal war of exterminating vengeance against Benjamin he does not reject, as some critics have done, as devoid of all historical value and as a mere fiction concocted in hostility to the family of Saul. He accepts the antiquity of the narrative, more particularly of that portion of it which is preserved in chap. xx.; but he considers that the evidence both of the general character of the story and of its distinctive expressions gives conclusive proof that our Hebrew version is a late expansion—possibly composed at so late a date as the fourth century—of the original narrative.

Any criticism adverse to the strictly historical character of the narrative of Judges must inevitably give offence. But it is better to give offence than to keep back anything that seems to be demanded by the sober search for truth. Professor Moore, in dealing with the Samson narratives, finds himself quite unable to regard them as serious history. On the other hand, he is equally unprepared to treat them, as some have done, as a sun myth (pp. 315, 365). He accepts them as popular tales based on some original foundation of fact in connection with early border warfare. Again, while he says "the historical character of chs. xx., xxi. 1-14 will scarcely be seriously maintained; in the whole description of the war there is hardly a semblance of reality" (p. 405), he quite firmly maintains the historical nucleus of the narrative; and upholds, against Wellhausen, the view which most of us probably share, that Hos. x. 9 contains an allusion to the events recorded in Judges xix., xx.

The general method followed in this commentary is orderly and simple. The book is divided into sections. A discussion, with an analysis, of a whole section precedes the commentary; the commentary of a section moves on by paragraphs, which are taken in succession. The commentary on each paragraph has appended to it, in smaller print, a discussion of special difficulties, peculiar words, variant explanations, and the like, enriched with references to the bibliography of each subject.

The reader will not fail to be struck with the extensive use made of recent geographical and archæological research. Once more a scholarly book by one who fully accepts the critical position, exposes the utter want of foundation for the charge that has recently been repeated from mouth to mouth, that the critics have taken no notice of archæological research. I confess I turned with some curiosity to Judges v. 14 to see what Professor Moore had to say to Professor Sayce's recent *dictum:* "We have no grounds for explaining away the explicit statement of the Song of Deborah and Barak, that 'out of Zebulon (came) they that handle the pen of the writer.' On the contrary, the testimony of Oriental archæology is in thorough harmony with the literal interpretation of the verse" (*Lex Mosaica*, p. 15). It is perhaps unfortunate that Professor Moore, who gives what is without question the right translation, "And from Zebulun those who carry the muster master's staff," has here confined himself to explaining the literal interpretation, and has ignored Professor Sayce's extraordinary preference for the A.V. rendering, and the yet stranger inferences that have been based upon it. Professor Moore, however, does enter a protest against the reckless way in which "the monuments" have been pressed, by a whole series of baseless suppositions, into service against "the critics" in connection with the story of Othniel (p. 85). Whether we agree with Professor Moore that that story is unhistorical, or with Kittel that it is a recollection of the wars between Rameses III. and Tiglath Pileser, it is important to be reminded that the evidence of monuments needs to be tested with the same scrupulous care as the evidence of literary criticism; and that avowedly apologetic aims are no excuse for baseless generalisations.

It would be unfair to the Commentary before me to make extracts of passages in order to give examples of Professor Moore's style and work as a commentator. I have endeavoured to form my impression of the book, not merely from reference to individual passages of known difficulty, but from a careful continuous perusal of large portions. His treatment of chapters v. and ix., perhaps the most important passages in the whole Book of Judges, appear to me to illustrate, just where it is most needed, the qualifications of careful annotation and lucid discussion.

I ought to call attention to one important feature in his treatment of the text. Professor Moore has made a most useful and altogether praiseworthy endeavour to furnish a sympathetic treatment of the Greek versions of this book. He has struck out an admirable line in the direction of grouping the various authorities which have preserved to us the different types of Greek renderings. This process must have added immensely to the labour expended

upon the text; but it has added proportionately to its value and interest. According to Professor Moore, the text of "A and its congeners" may justly lay claim to the designation of "the Septuagint," if that term is to be regarded as equivalent to "the oldest Greek version." So far as "Judges" is concerned, he believes the text of "B and its congeners" to represent a translation made in the fourth century. Speaking of the LXX, it is impossible not to sympathize with Professor Moore when he makes use of the following terms, that will perhaps startle some who are unacquainted with the bewildering misuse of the title: "It seems to me desirable, however, in the interests of clearness, that the name [Septuagint] with all its misleading associations should be banished from critical use."

Space will not allow me to linger upon this interesting aspect of Professor Moore's Commentary. But I have just one regret to express about the book; and that is, that the Introduction should not have included two additional sections, dealing the one with "the History," the other with "the Religious Thought" of the book. In the case of both subjects there is clearly an opening for separate treatment. The details are, I know, carefully discussed as they come up for notice in the course of the Commentary. But a summary of results would have been most welcome and helpful. It would also have mitigated the appearance of repellent severity which is suggested by an Introduction containing disquisitions only upon "Structure," "Chronology," and "Text."

The omission of the religious element appears to me to constitute the only serious defect in the book. I call attention to it, because, in these days, when the interests in mere literary criticism are apt to assume an absorbing character, it is really essential that the student should, in every way, have it impressed upon him that criticism is only a means to an end, and that the end which every Old Testament student has in view, is the deeper understanding of each narrative as a portion of the life of the Israelite people, and as a picture of that Divine training through which the people passed, and of which the records are profitable still for our spiritual learning and guidance. A Commentary omits its most important function if it neglects the religious teaching of a book. The best Commentator will indicate the spiritual lessons to be drawn from the national history and from the records of the guidance that was given to the people and to its teachers by the Divine Spirit. This is not incompatible with the scientific treatment of history and text. It is to be deplored if the opportunity is lost, or if the attempt is abandoned as impracticable.

The book, in other respects, is an excellent example of the new style of Commentary. No scholarly student of the Old Testament

should be without it. Professor Moore deserves our best thanks and congratulations upon the completion of a work that has entailed upon him vast toil, and has conferred upon us a real boon. I trust that the auspicious alliance of British and American scholars in Biblical studies may result in giving us other works from the same pen. HERBERT E. RYLE.

A Study of the Five Zoroastrian Gâthâs, with Texts and Translations, the Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian Commentaries, etc.

By Lawrence H. Mills, D.D. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus (or of the Author, Oxford). Pp. xxx. 622. Price, £1, 10*s.*

Le Zend-Avesta.

Traduction nouvelle avec commentaire historique et philologique, par James Darmesteter. Paris: E. Leroux (Annales du Musée Guimet. Tomes xxii.-xxiv.). Price, £2, 11*s.*

THE books which give a title to this paper have a feature in common which calls for mention before we proceed to consider their subject. They are works of colossal labour, and they appeal directly to an exceedingly small circle; they are very bulky volumes and costly in printing, Dr Mills's book especially so; and we could hardly have hoped to see either of them but for the generous help which the English and French Governments respectively have bestowed upon the undertakings. There are few literary objects more entirely deserving of state help than such as these, which represent the unremunerative toil of many years, cheerfully undergone in order that others may reap the fruits, bringing out of the treasure-house of the original researcher new lore which may largely influence the religious controversies of the day.

Dr Mills's book throws open the workshop in which he produced his translation of the oldest Zoroastrian Scriptures in the *Sacred Books of the East* (vol. xxxi.) eight years ago. The *Gâthâs*, or Hymns, of Zoroaster (*Zarathushtra*) are by far the most precious relic we possess of oriental religion, the only sacred literature which in dignity, in profoundness, in purity of thought and absolute freedom from unworthy conceptions of the Divine, could ever for a moment be compared with the Hebrew Scriptures. By their side the myrio-theistic puerilities of the Veda, or the equally childish ritualism of the later Parsee scriptures supply a striking foil to what is manifestly the work of a deep and earnest thinker, a prophet with the soul of a martyr. Unhappily the proper understanding of the

Hymns is beset with unparalleled difficulties. Problems of age and authorship surround us, compared with which the varying judgments of Old Testament critics seem like unanimity. Problems of interpretation arise to an unlimited extent in the field of these obscure, fragmentary, corrupted texts, and rival schools of Comparative Philologists and Traditionalists have not yet altogether composed their differences. Dr Mills attempts to give us the tools wherewith we may approximate to the meaning of the texts as they stand. He prints with the Avesta text the old Pahlavi Commentary, deciphered and translated, besides the Persian and the exceedingly difficult Sanskrit of Neryosangh. Pahlavi is a language of extraordinary difficulty, which very few scholars indeed can decipher, much less translate; and the student of the Gâthâs who comes to his sufficiently thorny task armed with nothing but Zend and its Indo-Germanic congeners, owes a great debt to Dr Mills for thus supplying him with the interpretations of the old Rabbins of Zoroastrianism. Dr Mills's own reputation, supported by the hearty approval of such scholars as Justi and Darmesteter, will sufficiently vouch for the character of this part of his work, in which I am unable to follow him. But indeed a technical examination of his *apparatus criticus* to the Gâthâs would be entirely out of place in this Review. My object is rather to show the great importance of the subject to students of theology, and to encourage them to examine for themselves the material with which Dr Mills has provided them. For more popular purposes the translation in the *S.B.E.* will probably serve; but for real investigation the companion volume is necessary, giving as it does a clear idea of the multitudinous difficulties and ambiguities of detail found in these ancient texts, as well as Dr Mills's own comments *in extenso*. There is of course a great deal of matter in various unknown tongues, but it will not at all embarrass the scholar who comes to the book to learn the characteristics of Gâthic Zoroastrianism.

Professor Cheyne has from time to time accustomed students of O.T. theology to the doctrine that the beliefs in a resurrection and in angels and demons were learned by the Jews from the Persians. Dr Mills firmly holds this view, even believing that the Pharisees were originally the *Parsî* party and thence got their name. It is a pity that he has not space to elaborate his views on this subject.[1] The reader who turns from Dr Mills to the work of the great French scholar will probably come away with the conviction that certainty is unattainable in Zend learning. Professor James Darmesteter—whose name we cannot mention without a sigh for the early death of an Oriental scholar of genius almost unsurpassed in the annals of

[1] Dr Mills has summarised his argument in the *Nineteenth Century* for Jan. 1894.

France—seeks in the last volume of his monumental translation of the Avesta to prove that the Gâthâs were built largely upon Philo, and date from the first century of our era. The immense weight of his authority will no doubt be a welcome relief to many who would rather think of other religions as borrowing from Israel than *vice versâ*. But in the world of experts Darmesteter finds not a single backer, and his brilliantly reasoned paradox would probably have been abandoned by its author had fate allotted him the additional generation of life which we might have hoped for him. As, however, Dr Mills, with the best German scholars, fixes the Gâthâs well back in the second millennium B.C., and almost every age between this and Darmesteter's date has been favoured by scholars of repute, it is sufficiently clear that the problem of Zoroastrian influence in the history of Judaism cannot be solved till Avestan scholars have come to something like agreement.

This is not the place to discuss the question which lies at the root of all use of the Avesta to interpret Judaism. But as Darmesteter's theory puts the whole Avestan theology — with a significant exception to be noticed later—outside the development of Judaism, which is to be parent rather than brother or child, I may be doing some service to Biblical students if I dwell a while on the parts of the question which interest them. It will be enough to say that Darmesteter builds upon the unquestionable connection between the six "Amshaspands" or archangels of Zoroastrianism and the Greek counterparts in Philo. Taking Philo to be the originator and not the borrower, Darmesteter assigns the whole growth of the Avestan religion as we have it to a great Iranian revival under the Arsacide and still more the Sassanian kings. Some older elements he acknowledges, and among them the doctrine of the resurrection, so that Professor Cheyne's theories are not hopelessly upset even by Darmesteter's date for the Avesta. There are a great many considerations to which the brilliant theorist has given scant attention, but it will suffice to mention one. The Gâthâs are written in an exceedingly archaic dialect, in most respects as archaic as that of the Rigveda itself. The earliest parts of the latter have recently been assigned on astronomical grounds to the twenty-eighth century B.C. Whether this stand or no, there are few scholars indeed who would consent to take off more than ten centuries from the long tale. Now, even granted that Darmesteter may be right in supposing that Gâthic was a dead language to those who used it, the long survival in Asia of so extraordinarily primitive a dialect is hard enough to believe. And when we find a much-later type of dialect, the ordinary Zend, used for the rest of the Avesta, we naturally ask what conceivable cause could have produced this almost contemporary composition in *two* languages which must have

been long dead. Moreover, in putting the Gâthâs and the later Avesta so near each other he rides roughshod over difficulties which every other student has felt insurmountable. There is hardly a trace of myth in the Gâthâs, hardly a trace of sober narrative in the later Avesta. The prophet of the Gâthâs is purely human, preaching, suffering, persecuted, without a trait in character or history which is not perfectly historical, if internal evidence can ever decide. What *can* a mythical theory do with a man whose name, on Darmesteter's own interpretation, means "having yellow camels?" The childish marvels connected with the Prophet in the later Parsee Scriptures show by themselves that the Gâthâs speak of a real man, or at the least contain a far older story.

Perhaps I may sketch at this point the theory of Iranian religious history which more and more commends itself to me. For a detailed argument I may refer to two papers in the *Thinker*, vol. ii. p. 308 and p. 490. The new facts adduced in the three years since I wrote seem to me perfectly adapted to a place in the theory. I conceive Zarathushtra to be a historical reformer who appeared in Bactria before 1000 B.C. The Iranians to whom he came professed a religion essentially identical with that we find described by the inscriptions and Herodotus as prevailing among the Persians of the days of Darius. There was one supreme deity—"Ahura Mazda," "Wise Lord"—but a number of nature-powers received worship, though as markedly inferior to him. Evil spirits were acknowledged, with "Drauga"—"Falsehood"—at their head. Zarathushtra came as a reformer, but not a revolutionist. Ignoring the subordinate deities, and striving to inculcate monotheism by insisting on the infinite greatness and holiness of Ahura Mazda, he explained the problem of evil by the conception of an Evil Power, Angra Mainyu ("hurtful spirit"), who chose evil in the beginning and made all things evil. The duty of man was to wage unceasing warfare against the evil power, which at the last would be finally conquered, and shut up for ever in Hell with all who took his part, when the faithful should be translated to endless bliss in Ahura Mazda's "House of Song." The Gâthâs represent for us this profound religious philosophy, one which bears the impress of a single mind of extraordinary genius and earnestness. They show that the Prophet had only limited success in his own lifetime, and that he was persecuted with the utmost fierceness. After his death the old Iranian nature-worship returned, but Zarathushtra was made into its high-priest. Meanwhile the new doctrine began to filter into Media, where Iranians (Ἀριζαντοί in Herodotus, = *Ariya-zantava* in old Persian—*i.e.*, "men of Aryan race") lived in the midst of a predominantly non-Aryan population. A sacred tribe, the Μαγοί (Herod. i. 101), after the abortive attempt of the pseudo-Smerdis to

overthrow the Iranian Achaemenids and restore the power of the native races, found a new path to influence in the religion which their stronger neighbours held. The Magi followed a strictly Shemitic type of cult, with a kind of Dualism of its own, a dark and mechanical system which had sufficient surface resemblance to Zarathushtra's philosophy to make the transference easy. The fusion of Iranian and Shemitic religions was made easier by popular etymology, for Zara-ushtra (the probable Persian form of the prophet's name) could obviously be interpreted as "seed of Istar." From this Shemitic infusion came the ritualism of the Vendidad, and I fancy two customs which ancient testimony unanimously attributes to the Magi—viz. the exposure of the dead to be devoured by vultures, and the practice of marriage with a next-of-kin. Finally, I think it can be shown that the Avestan religion as we have it was established in Persia by Artaxerxes Mnemon, whose revolutionary changes are attested both by his own short inscription and by Greek writers. It is noteworthy that the names of Ahura Mazda, Angra Mainyu, and Zarathushtra first appear in Greek writers (through a *Persian* medium, not Zend) during his reign.

Without enlarging on this theory, I will simply mention the points at which it touches the history of Judaism:—(1) Cyrus's religion is not Zoroastrian, but unreformed Iranian Mazda-worship. This would not prevent his frankly recognising Merodach or Jehovah. Moreover the Jews cannot have come in contact with Zoroastrianism for at least a century after Cyrus. This disposes of the idea of "anti-Parsism" in Second Isaiah (Kohut in Z.D.M.G. xxx. 716 *sq.*), improbable already on other grounds. As Cheyne well points out, the Babylonians had a Dualism of their own, which we have seen to be essentially the link between the Magi and the Iranian religion on which they fastened. (2) Darmesteter's strong point, that the Avesta and the later Parsee books contain a cosmogony and history of primeval man strikingly like that of Genesis, is now easily accounted for. Genesis takes us back in many points, as we know,—and therefore we may infer in many others,—to ancient traditions of the Shemitic races. If the Magi were Shemites, they presumably inherited the same traditions. The parallel formulae of Leviticus and the Vendidad—"Jehovah said to Moses," "Ahura Mazda said to Spitama Zarathushtra"—might be also relics of a traditional view of Shemitic ritual and its origin. Darmesteter ignores the old find of a Zend parallel to the אהיה אשר אהיה, which Professor Max Müller lately resuscitated: the Zend phrase has no real resemblance at all. (3) Two pre-exilic references to the Magi and their cult are explained at once. The title *Rab-mag*, in Jer. xxxix. 3, 13, is the native Babylonian designation of

the official head of the sacred caste, long before Magi had anything to do with Zoroastrianism. And for the first time, as I think, we can make Ezek. viii. 16, 17 intelligible. It is incredible that Zoroastrian worship should have been found in the Temple before the Exile—almost equally incredible that it should have been regarded as a worse "abomination" than the Tammuz cult. But suppose this to be Magism in its pre-Zoroastrian condition, and the difficulty vanishes. The passage then becomes a confirmation of what may be asserted on other grounds, that the *barsom* of the Parsee priest—the "branch," or bunch of tamarisk twigs, "held to the nose" during the ritual—is an importation, and not an original feature of Zoroastrian worship.[1]

Without following this line further, I should like to point out some of the fruitful fields of investigation which will probably well repay investigators who have a first-hand knowledge of Jewish literature to bring to what they will find in Dr Mills's book. First and foremost comes tho doctrine of Immortality, on which the Gâthâs are all-important. Their teaching was admirably summarised in a popular article by Dr Mills himself in the above-cited volume of the *Thinker*, p. 104. Hardly less important is Zarathushtra's teaching on the problem of Evil, which is practically identical with that of Christianity, except that the Iranian sage is generally supposed to cut the knot which Christianity leaves alone, by declaring that Evil began in endless time. Yet *Yasna*, 30. 6, might be plausibly held to suggest that there was a time when the evil spirit first made his choice of evil. Future rewards and punishments are very clearly delineated in the Gâthâs. The holiness, the unity, the spirituality of God, the moral choice of man, the call to vigorous service, the essential connection between religion and ethics, the extension of goodness from works and words to thoughts—all these and more features of Gâthic religion may well have had a stimulating effect upon Jewish thinkers, if we can find a channel by which they could have been brought within their ken. The later Avesta may be examined for the rise of hierarchies of angels, the doctrine of *fravashis* or guardian spirits, the developed conception of organised evil in the spirit world, &c. How much of Zoroastrian influence may be found even in the New Testament —there are remarkable surface parallels in the Apocalypse[2]—I need not forecast, but there will be plenty to repay research in later Apocalyptic literature, and in heretical writings. Direct borrowing—

[1] The *word* is of course Aryan, for it occurs in the Veda. But the *thing* is obviously different, the Vedic *barhis* being straw placed on the ground.

[2] Such as the close *parallelism* between good and evil: the evil trinity answering to the divine, &c.

like that of the *Aeshma daeva* in the Book of Tobit—is less to be expected than an almost unconscious development of essentially Jewish ideas under the stimulating influence of Zoroastrian surroundings. The Jews were not at any time after the Captivity very eager to adopt foreign religious teaching, and it is utterly improbable that they deliberately took over doctrines wholesale from a book which contained so much, especially in ritual, utterly alien to their modes of thought, strongly tainted moreover with the old Iranian polytheism which Zarathushtra had vainly hoped to destroy. But it is very easy to see how the Jews in a Zoroastrian atmosphere should have realised that the whole system of their own faith logically demanded acceptance of a doctrine of Immortality, which had been suspected by men of faith in earlier times. The existence of Evil did not at first perplex the minds of Israelites, who were easily satisfied that Jehovah created everything, and therefore all must be for the best. So naïve a belief could not last, and we can hardly wonder that the conception of a Satan should have been evolved by Jewish thinkers who had grown accustomed to hearing all evil assigned to the working of an adversary eternally opposed to the good God. The new conceptions were not inconsistent with Judaism. The seeds slept in the soil, and Zarathushtra was privileged to water them: the increase was given by the One God of Jew and Gentile alike. To my mind, many of the most serious difficulties of Revelation are dispelled by these evidences that God had His prophets outside the favoured people, and left not Himself without witness among Gentiles long before Christ came. I am urging Biblical students to read Dr Mills's presentation of Zarathushtra, not that they may discover Christianity to be a plagiarism—like the omniscient novelist who lately discoursed on the "new (!) heterodoxy" in an evening paper—but that they may find familiar truths in unexpected places, and once more

"yield all blessing to the name
Of Him that made them current coin."

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

Communication on the Lewis Palimpsest, the Curetonian Fragments, and the Peshitta.

THE interesting and venerable codex of Syriac Evangelia,[1] which was discovered in the Library on Mount Sinai, has been called by some writers after the name of the locality in which it was so long

[1] See *The Four Gospels in Syriac.* By R. L. Bensly, J. R. Harris, F. C. Burkitt. With *Introduction* by A. S. Lewis.

concealed; but, not to mention the obvious objection to employing the title *Sinaiticus* for two distinct MSS., one a Greek codex, the other a Syriac, it is only fair to the discoverer that her name should be perpetuated in the same way that Cureton's will always be in connection with a similar discovery. Let us agree to use the title *Lewis MS.*; and since it is a palimpsest,[1] the symbol *Lp.* will be appropriate. I may add that this symbol will be employed in a collation which, as I am informed, will be published ere long by a member of my own University. He has kindly communicated to me a summary of the conclusions at which he has arrived. From these, supplemented by my own observations, I will tabulate, as follows, some of the results of the comparison of *Lp.* with the Curetonian (Sc.) and the Peshitta (P.).

1. (1) *Lp.* and *Sc.* are united by the title *Mĕpharreshê*, which, though occasionally applied to the Peshitta Psalter, seems not to occur in connection with Peshitta Gospels. We may provisionally accept the translation which is now in favour—"separated," in contrast to "mixed up," in a Harmony.

(2) *Lp.* and *Sc.* contain a large amount of common text. In many places there is an actual identity of language, and a line for line agreement.

(3) *Lp.* and *Sc.* represent a similar Greek Text, that which is called "Western" being, broadly speaking, the basis of both.

2. *Lp.* and *Sc.* differ from *P.* as follows:—

(1) While *Lp.* arranges the Gospels with *P.* in the familiar order, *Sc.* has the order *Matthew*, *Mark*, *John*, *Luke*.

(2) *Lp.* (not *Sc.*) omits, against *P.*, the last twelve verses of *St Mark*.

(3) *Lp.* and *Sc.* in many passages combine to differ from *P.* in (α) omissions of words and clauses, (β) inversions of verses, (γ) the language employed.

(4) *Lp.* and *Sc.* differ in different ways from *P.* in statements connected with the Nativity. (α) *Sc.* emphasizes the doctrine of the Virgin Birth by expressions which imply the perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Theotokos; while (β) *Lp.* gives a naturalistic account of our Lord's parentage. Moreover, in our opinion, the heretical savour pervades the whole book. Space does not suffice to set out the passages which have been collected by an able writer to the *Church Times* of January 11th last. It is true that the book has not been systematically corrupted, but more changes have been

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. xxi., it is said that the MS. was suspected to be in parts doubly palimpsest. As the Gospel text is of the fifth century, this would be an instance of a palimpsest of very remarkable antiquity. It is, however, added that the hydrosulphide of ammonia failed to bring up the writing. Possibly letters showing through the vellum were mistaken for another hand.

made than can readily be explained away. It is natural that Mrs Lewis, in her Introduction to her Translation, should deny that her *protégé* is the work of a heretic. This we do not affirm, but we cannot disguise the plain traces of heretical corruption.

3. *Lp.* and *Sc.* differ from one another in many important particulars.

(1) In the placing of paragraphs and principal stops.[1]

(2) In Syriac readings, and that far more than any two Peshitta MSS. are known to do.

(3) *Lp.* is remarkable for the omission of passages found in *Sc.* and all authorities.

(4) The text of *Lp.* is marked by brevity of expression, so that, on the whole, it is a shorter text than that of *Sc.*

(5) *Lp.*, in a large number of places, agrees with *P.* against *Sc.*

(6) The Greek Text underlying *Lp.* is slightly less "Western" than that of *Sc.*

In reference to (5), it must be noted that *Lp.* has not been adapted to *P.* The differences are too great and obvious to permit such a supposition.

From the preceding observations it appears (1) that the text of the new Syriac Gospels is of the same type as the Curetonian, but that each text has its own distinctive features, each its own peculiar readings; (2) that the Peshitta text has much in common with both, but is also widely divergent from both. The interval between them is not reduced by distance of time. When the Lewis and the Curetonian MSS. were written, the Peshitta was related to their texts in the same manner as it is to-day; for we have it now in the same form in which it was read at that period. It has always been regarded as the national version of the Syriac-speaking Church, being accepted and venerated by Jacobites and Nestorians alike. What place, then, is to be assigned to the two erratic codices, the new Lewis MS. and the Curetonian?

In seeking an answer, we put aside all other Syriac versions besides the Peshitta, for the Lewis MS. has no relations with them, and we may also limit our enquiries to the Gospels, for nothing has yet been discovered to suggest that any other part of the New Testament was ever extant in Syriac in the form of the Lewis-Curetonian text. It is *à priori* highly probable that the Gospels would be treated differently from the Epistles by the ancient Syriac translators. In rendering the latter into Syriac there was a definite piece of Greek to be turned into Syriac. To add, or curtail, would have been foreign to the purpose of faithful translation. The Gospels,

[1] Although ancient Greek and Latin MSS. were written continuously, and stops are rarely found, even the oldest Syriac MSS. have the words separated, and are furnished with a system of punctuation.

indeed, are records, but there were also other records besides our Canonical Gospels. St Luke, in his opening words, expressly says so. What is there to forbid the supposition that the translators of the Gospel story into Syriac were also, to some extent, historians, and imported into their work phrases, even paragraphs, from Syriac records of the preaching of Apostolic men? In doing this, there would have been nothing necessarily dishonest. I do not say that this course was followed, but the possibility, we may say probability, of it is an important consideration in the attempt to account for the different texts of Syriac Evangelia. The supposition would apply to divergent texts of the Acts, if there were such; but the case of the Acts is not now before us.

I suppose no one will doubt that Christianity was introduced into Syria at a very early date. The plan and procedure were the same in that as in other lands. It was, in the first instance, the proclaiming of the words and deeds of Jesus the Christ. The language of Syria was very closely related to the vernacular of Palestine; for I take leave to assume that some Semitic dialect, and not Greek, was the language of our Lord and His Apostles. It may be further asserted, as highly probable, that before the Pauline Epistles were written, some part at least of the story of Jesus was circulating in Syria, whither it would be carried by more than one convert during the twenty years, or more or less, which elapsed between the Resurrection and St Paul's first letter to his Thessalonian converts. Again, it is not to be denied that some of the stories told by the first preachers, some of the Lord's words delivered by them, were quickly committed to writing—some to perish, others to be preserved.

Until recent years it has been held that the Peshitta represents the earliest Syriac records which have survived. Some of the Syriac writers have assigned to it a place of honour equivalent, rather than subsidiary, to the Greek Gospels. Besides the Peshitta, a Harmony of the Gospels, the Diatessaron of Tatian, was much used in Syria in ancient times. The actual Syriac text is not now available; but who knows that it does not lie safely concealed in some Eastern library, ready to be revealed when Mrs Lewis travels that way? But we already have access to an Arabic translation of the Diatessaron, and to a commentary upon it by the great Syriac writer, Mar Ephraim, who died in 373. The importance of this Harmony to our present subject is, that there seems to be a close relation between its text, as far as we can judge without having the actual language before us, and the Lewis-Curetonian text. What account can be given of the connection between the Diatessaron, *Lp.* and *Sc.*, and of *Lp.*, *Sc.* and *P.*? What was the origin of these versions?

On the appearance of the Curetonian Fragments, fifty years ago,

the text was hailed as an older, and therefore more interesting, version than the Peshitta. The new Syriac Gospels have been welcomed as another, and more complete, "Old Syriac" Text. Such is the estimate formed of *Sc.* and of *Lp.* by writers whose names would occur to any student of New Testament criticism. Yet I will brave the risk of a charge of heresy and enquire, Did this "Old Syriac" really exist? or is it an hypothesis? What is the evidence?

1. The "Old Latin" is thought to furnish an analogy. We have concluded that Gospel records were extant in Syriac in very early days. The translation of the Gospels into Latin was probably as early; certainly the New Testament was read in that language at a very early period, though exact dates cannot be given. In the time of Jerome there were found to be considerable differences in the codices. He undertook a revision, and produced the Latin Vulgate, under the authority of the Bishop of Rome. But the older texts were still copied, and were allowed to influence Jerome's new text, so that now, competent authorities say, there hardly exists a pure copy of Jerome's Vulgate.

From this an analogy is drawn. It is argued that a revision on similar lines took place in the East. The period assigned is the latter part of the third century or the fourth century. Later than the fourth century it could not have been; for the Peshitta text was then substantially what it is now. This is proved by the antiquity of MSS., by the quotations in Mar Ephraim, who died A.D. 373, and to some extent by those in the works of Aphraates, who wrote about A.D. 340. Now Jerome's work on the Latin texts was begun in A.D. 382. It would therefore follow in time the revision of the Syriac. But Jerome, as far as I know, never said that he borrowed the idea of his critical work from Syrians. And it is improbable that they had any example to set him, for in literary and critical works they were, for the most part, imitators; they adapted and improved, but were rarely inventors. Moreover, no allusion to such revision has been discovered in the remains of ancient Syriac literature, and these remains are not inconsiderable in extent.

Again, a comparison of Syriac and Latin MSS. exhibits a striking difference. We have spoken of the mixture of texts in Latin MSS. There is nothing of the sort in Syriac copies. We possess a solid body of codices, in themselves constituting a library, products of many different scriptoria, and written at different periods; but all presenting the same Peshitta text, unaffected by external influences. I do not lay stress on the fact that the only remains of what is called the Old Syriac are the Lewis and Cureton MSS.; but I remark as more significant, that the Peshitta copies are free from

traces of revision; and this would not lose its force if other copies like Mrs Lewis' should come to light.

2. It is said that the Lewis and Cureton is an older form and style of translation, and that the Peshitta has been produced from it by critical emendation. As a general statement this is inexact. Individual passages can be variously explained, but there will still remain many features which indicate that the Lewis-Cureton texts belong to a later age, such as harmonising tendencies, dogmatic statements, special views of Gospel history. I may refer to the summary by Dr Waller in Scrivener's *New Testament Criticism*, ed. iv. Since he wrote, the Lewis MS. has strengthened his position. He would say of it, that it cannot be the representative of the oldest text of Syriac Evangelia, because it is heretical, and therefore unprimitive. Truth came before error, and the Canonical Gospels preceded unorthodox corruptions. The Lewis and Cureton MSS. cannot be called "MSS. of Old Syriac texts" without qualification, and ought not to be quoted as such. At the utmost it can only be said that each contains more or less of Old Syriac elements. This seems proved by the discovery of the Lewis MS., because of its differences from the Curetonian, and because it frequently sides with the Peshitta against the Curetonian. The editors hold that the Lewis MS. is older, and presents an older text than the Curetonian. It follows that much in the Curetonian is more modern than the Peshitta text.

In some former studies on these subjects, I said that I admitted there might have been a version or versions which preceded the Peshitta, but that they had perished as complete works, and that the extant Curetonian was certainly not the parent of the Peshitta. It is satisfactory to find that the recent discovery of another MS. of the same type has justified my opinion. We shall not find the origin of the Peshitta in the Lewis MS., and we did not in the Curetonian. The task for some one is to eliminate from both the later elements, and consider how far the residuum can really be the basis of the Peshitta, or whether it was not itself taken from the Peshitta, seeing that, as we have said, the Peshitta existed long before the Lewis or Cureton's MSS. were written.

In conclusion, we will collect admitted facts, and indicate the almost certain inferences which may be drawn from them.

1. The first preachers of the Gospel in Syria, whosoever they were, did not go with a dozen camel loads of Lewis MSS. They delivered oral messages; though it is not to be denied that if any books of the New Testament were already written, they may have taken copies with them.

2. The intercourse between Edessa and other towns of Mesopotamia, and Antioch, would facilitate the introduction of Christian

books into Syria, as soon as the existence of Syrian Christian communities created a demand. St Luke (i. 1) intimates that, even before the early date of his writing, many narratives had been drawn up. If some of these were in Greek, surely some also were in the Semitic vernacular. From the similarity of this dialect to the language of Edessa, such vernacular records would find a ready access to the Syrian converts.

3. It is not improbable that Syria was in part Christianised even before the Canonical Gospels were written. It may be taken for granted that copies of the Gospels found their way into such a town as Edessa at a very early date.

4. Before the year A.D. 170 or '80 a Harmony of the Gospels had been composed by Tatian. Now it must be clearly recognised that the history of this work is still obscure, and that it is hazardous to draw inferences from its contents and text until we have the work itself before us. Still, I think we may affirm—

α. That it was based upon the Canonical Greek Gospels.

β. That it existed in a Syriac form, whether it was originally drawn up in Greek or not.

γ. That its Syriac text corresponded, in some respects, rather with the texts of the Lewis and Curetonian codices than with the Peshitta.

5. The various opinions that have been in vogue about Aramaic records as a groundwork to our Synoptic Gospels, have no direct relation to the question of the origin of the Syriac versions. But a side light comes from them. If such records were current in Syria, they would have been of the greatest assistance to the early translators, on account of the intimate relation between the idioms of such compositions and the Syriac language. It will not be denied that much can be said for the opinion that St Matthew wrote in a Semitic dialect as well as in Greek. Cureton thought that the St Matthew in his MS. was based on this Aramaic Gospel. It is now seen that the Curetonian Gospels are all translations. The same is true of the new Syriac Gospels. They are not even Semitic works, touched up from the Greek. Isolated passages might be used to prove that the Lewis palimpsest and the Curetonian contain reminiscences of Aramaic expressions, but, on the whole, no argument can be derived from the phraseology to contradict the view that they are versions, like the Peshitta.

6. We now pass out of the mists of hoar antiquity to two historical facts of the fifth century.

i. Rabbula, who was Bishop of Edessa from 411-435, finding that the Harmony composed by Tatian was used in his diocese to the exclusion of the Holy Gospels, ordered that the work should everywhere be superseded by what he called *Mepharreshê* Gospels. We

have already spoken of the meaning of this title. In Rabbula's order it can hardly mean anything but "Separated Books," in contrast to the "Mixed Narrative of a Harmony."

ii. But the popularity of the Diatessaron was great. A quarter of a century later, Theodoret, famous in the Nestorian controversy, who, from about 423 to 457, was Bishop of Cyrrhus, some 25 miles from Edessa, S.-W. towards Antioch, removed 200 copies which he found in his diocese.

7. We pass over an interval of 1400 years. In the nineteenth century two books come from the East, each bearing the title *Mepharreshê*, a title almost peculiar to them; in the case of Evangelia, not found with any other texts. Either of these two codices may have been written in the year of Rabbula's order; neither can be much later. The Lewis palimpsest is ascribed by the editors to that era. Are the Lewis and Cureton MSS. relics of copies made by order of Rabbula?

Since the Peshitta existed in its present form in the days of Rabbula, and has always been the national version of the Syriac Church, it can hardly be doubted that he intended that copies of the Peshitta should be substituted for the Diatessaron. They had not before, as far as we know, been called *Mepharreshê*, and have never been so called since. The term is used by Rabbula, not as a title, but attributively. It marks their origin in contrast to the mixed work they were to succeed. But it would easily become a title for copies subsequently made, which exhibited the same text; and it survived to the tenth century, for the Syriac writer, Bar-Bahlul, quotes a place from *the Mepharreshê*. Copies made in the fifth century may well have been extant in his time.

On the other hand, Peshitta MSS., belonging to an older family, and standing on a pedestal of their own, as the version received in Edessa, needed no qualifying epithet.

But why were not the copies made by Rabbula's order of the same text as the Peshitta? To ask a question about an event in ancient days is easier than to account for the doings of men whose names are unknown, whose locality is uncertain, whose era we can but surmise. However—

1. The fact that Aphraates, the Persian, does not so exclusively adhere to the Peshitta text as Ephraim the Edessene did, suggests that the Peshitta was not universally current in Syria at that time —not exactly, in fact, a vulgate. The wide-spread popularity of the Diatessaron has been mentioned. It might be, probably was, difficult to procure copies of the Peshitta, in obedience to Rabbula's order. Yet the Peshitta of Edessa would be the standard for the new copies. A codex would be borrowed for a short time, to be passed on to another Church by the next caravan. The copies

would have to be made by men long familiar with the phraseology of Tatian. Recourse might be had to Greek copies, and independent attempts at translation made. Heretical influences were not wanting. At least the scribe of the *Lp.* endeavoured to enforce views about the Incarnation which he certainly did not derive from Tatian, and which are incompatible with orthodoxy. With such causes at work, what was lacking to give conditions favourable to the production of texts like Mrs Lewis' and Cureton's?

2. But some may contend that these MSS. are not originals of the fifth century, but copies of third or second century codices. That is only to shift their origin to another time of confusion. Then, also, there were the harmonistic readings of Tatian; there were Aramaic records, not yet obsolete; heretical influences had been at work from the beginning; many and various corruptions of texts happened in very early times. You cannot name the men who transcribed the Lewis and Cureton MSS., or indicate the scriptoria whence they issued; but you can see a soil well fitted to produce interpolated and unorthodox texts, without resorting to the hypothesis that such texts were the Evangelia of the Syriac Church, and afterwards superseded by Peshitta Evangelia, by means of a revision of which there exists no record.

G. H. Gwilliam.

The Saviour in the Newer Light: A Present Day Study of Jesus Christ.

By Alexander Robinson, B.D., Minister of the Parish of Kilmun, Argyleshire. Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1895. *Pp.* 386. *Price* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*

If the author's aims and hopes of his first literary offspring are realised, this will be an epoch-making book. It comes to supply a great desideratum, for "there has not yet been written in our language any satisfactory full account of Jesus as he lived on earth from the point of view of modern thoughtfulness." The four Gospels are out of the question—mere compounds of dramatic story, ideal representation, myth, legend, and superstition, with a few grains of history. There are indeed some British books on the proper lines, but they are incomplete. They have all been "published too soon." Mr Robinson's book comes to fill the vacant place. It is characterised by all the attributes of modern thought. Here you find none of those "abominable superstitions which

have perverted the Gospel or good news of Jesus Christ into a gospel of damnation." Here you find no countenance to that unthinkable dogma that Jesus was both God and man. Here you find all due scorn for those magical fancies called miracles, with which "ecclesiasticism" and "dogmatism" have degraded the life of Christ. Here you find the supernatural birth and the resurrection of Jesus from the dead relegated to their true place—devout imaginations. Nevertheless, the book presents you with "all the essentials of Christianity," only "built up more securely." It shows Jesus teaching the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and that is enough for "modern thoughtfulness." It thus gives us "the Saviour in the newer light," and no one will be so heartless as to ascribe to it the fault of all English books on the subject of earlier date—surely it has *not* been "published too soon."

In support of his views the author claims, without qualification or abatement, the support of all the sound criticism of recent years. There have been, it is true, "extravagances" in criticism, both earlier and later, but somewhere or other there is a "mature" criticism, whose judgments cannot be impugned. And this mature criticism, while it tears to rags the historical character of the Gospels as a whole, and the traditional view of their origin, has been able to find a few morsels of truth in the heterogeneous compound, by means of which the author is enabled to present the Saviour "in the newer light." He has "abstracted from the doctrinally manipulated statements of the Gospels the truly historical material." He has done so especially with the fourth Gospel, where "there is infinitely greater manipulation caused by early ecclesiastical doctrine than in the other three." One naturally asks, What is the wonderful criterion by which Mr Robinson has been able to make this exact separation of wheat from chaff? We are told quite frankly, it is "general critical consideration; but a special criterion recognised is life-likeness." He forms his own idea of what Jesus is "likely" to have said and done, derived from a combined view of the Gospel accounts, and all that does not square with this idea is thrown overboard. Yet with this most flexible, most arbitrary, this ridiculously uncertain criterion, he tells us that he has come to ascertain a body of "facts of supreme importance;" and as the world is very ignorant of the real facts, he has written this book to make them known. "With the thoughtful Biblical students of modern times," he has tried "to make known accurately what the historical Jesus was, by clearing away from thoroughly trustworthy material those doctrinal additions with which early ecclesiasticism obscured the material while it preserved it."

It will occur to everyone acquainted with the modern contro-

versy as to the four Gospels to ask, Where did Mr Robertson get this view of the "mature" results of criticism? On what ground does he claim that his book expresses "the main body of those views that are advanced with ever greater unanimity by modern criticism?" If there be any approach to unanimity in the critical world of to-day, is it not in the conservative direction? We cannot, in this brief notice, go into the wide question of the four Gospels, but we will take the most important one, the fourth, and ask, With what truth can our author assert that the fourth Gospel is no longer regarded as a real history, but has been "hurled down irrecoverably from the high pedestal on which piety used to place it"? Have any of our English scholars participated in this demolition of the Johannine tower of Babel? Let us take our greatest masters of New Testament criticism, the late Bishop Lightfoot, Bishop Westcott, Professor Sanday of Oxford, and Professor Salmon of Dublin. All of these have given special attention to the fourth Gospel, and with what results? Bishop Lightfoot's Essay ("Internal Evidence for the authenticity and genuineness of Saint John's Gospel"), delivered as a lecture eighteen years before, was revised for publication on the very eve of his death, and, in discussing the question of authenticity and genuineness, he comes to a very clear and decisive conclusion, and does not show a trace of sympathy with those who disparage the historical character of the book. His closing words are alike striking and beautiful. "I believe from my heart that the truth which this Gospel more especially enshrines—the truth that Jesus Christ is the very Word incarnate, the manifestation of the Father to mankind—is the one lesson which, duly apprehended, will do more than all our feeble efforts to purify and elevate human life here, by imparting to it hope and light and strength—the one study which can fitly prepare for a joyful immortality hereafter."

Bishop Westcott's Essay, in the Speaker's Commentary, has always been regarded as a work of singular ability, and one considerable section of it brings out the "historical exactness" of the Gospel. Professor Sanday, some years ago, laid his main stress on the internal evidence, and did not then regard the external as conclusive; more recently, in view of late additions to the evidence, he thinks the external as well as the internal thoroughly decisive. Professor Salmon, whose "Historical Introduction to the New Testament" is a work of the highest rank, is equally in favour of the Johannine authorship and credibility of the Gospel.

And who is there in England on the other side? The author of "Supernatural Religion"—a defeated champion, under whose banner no one would feel safe; Dr Samuel Davidson, whose first Introduction to the New Testament is a sufficient refutation of

the second; and Dr James Martineau, who is not a professional critic, but who, while not accepting the Johannine authorship, has the strongest conviction that the whole book was written by a single author. In Scotland, and in Mr Robinson's own church, there are against him Drs Milligan, Charteris and Gloag, and their views are shared by Dr David Brown and Dr Marcus Dods. For America, we need but name the late Dr Ezra Abbot; and for French-speaking countries, that venerable and most distinguished critic, Professor Godet. Surely Mr Robinson must be furnished with a magnificent array of authority from Germany, when, by a magnificent sweep of his arm, he can drive off the field the scholars we have named as men deficient in "modern thoughtfulness," and not worthy to be compared to the "free and unprejudiced class of scholars" who have "disproved the fourth Gospel's right to be called in general a source of history."

And who are these mighty men of valour—these German champions? He names but five: Keim, the two Holtzmanns, Wittichen and Pfleiderer. "These be thy gods, O Criticism, that have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage!"

We have no space to prosecute this subject further; it must suffice to refer to the admirable Bampton Lectures of Professor H. W. Watkins, of Durham, entitled "Modern Criticism considered in its relation to the Fourth Gospel." In that volume will be found a careful epitome of the views of every German scholar of note in recent times on the fourth Gospel. Many of them are by no means pleased with the traditional view, but as little are they able to agree on any other to take its place. Some find one, and some two or more original documents, and an editor; some count the discourses Johannine but not the narrative, and others the narrative but not the discourses; to some it appears an ideal representation of Christ as He appeared to be in the second century; in short, we find little trace of that "ever greater unanimity of modern criticism" which Mr Robinson boasts of, and much to justify Dr Watkins's motto, "Not even so did their witness agree together."

Mr Robinson's great object, like that of all other rationalists, is to account for Jesus Christ and His boundless influence, on principles purely natural. To do this, he lays his main stress on His work as teacher. But to clear the way, it is necessary to get rid of His miracles. This costs him little trouble. First, he gives the Gospel miracles (as they are recorded) the nick-name of "magical" acts, and scorns them accordingly. Then he tells us that "Jesus himself disliked the popular notion of His actions that called them miraculous in the sense of magical"; the fact being, that while

Jesus deemed "Himself," that is, His person, life and teaching, His great credential, He not only maintained the validity of His miracles as proofs of His divine origin and mission, but denounced the severest woes on Chorazin, Bethsaida and other places for disregarding them. What we call miracles were only wonders, according to our author, arising from the high moral and intellectual authority with which Jesus spoke and acted, His powerful influence over weak and nervous persons, and a certain acquaintance with medical prescriptions which He must have attained in His early years at Nazareth. *C'est tout!* When, according to the Gospels, Jesus said to the paralytic let down from the roof, "Son, thy sins be forgiven thee," that was a mere exclamation "for the moment," and "meant just that God would surely relieve the suffering man." His way of disposing of the exclamation of Thomas, when he saw the risen Saviour, is equally nonchalant. The words "My Lord and my God" "may have really been uttered by Thomas in some conversation in which he was charged by the others with want of faith in Jesus, because he hardly looked at the matter in the same way as they did." And so with most of the so-called miracles. As if the bearers of the paralytic would have climbed to the roof with their burden, uncovered the roof and let down the sick man in his bed, merely that he might get a kind word from Jesus! As if the whole dramatic incident of Thomas, his absence on the first evening, his gruff assertion of the only condition on which he would believe, the memorable and most gracious compliance of Jesus with his terms unreasonable though they were, and the passing of his unbelief into triumphant faith—had no more foundation than a remark of the apostle in a dispute with his brethren! And this is history revised and improved. This is the outcome of "modern thoughtfulness"!

In truth there is nothing in rationalists more amazing than the easy credulity with which they accept explanations of stupendous facts—explanations based on the most frivolous and ridiculous causes, None of them ever has grappled, or can grapple fairly with the place of prominence which miracle holds in the four Gospels, or dispose of the vital connection it has with the whole narrative. The vast number of supernatural acts—half of Mark's Gospel consists of them; the great variety of the kinds of miracle; the place of some of them, such as the supernatural birth and the resurrection from the dead, as corner-stones of the Christian religion; the important events that sprang out of them, such as the conspiracy to kill Jesus after the raising of Lazarus; the incidental way in which they are introduced, as when Herod desired to see Jesus in the hope that he would work a miracle; and the way in which Jesus staked His credit on them, especially when He foretold His resurrection—all such things show that in the Gospels the miracle

holds the very first and most vital place, and is not to be removed by any *coup de main.*

And how does Mr Robinson dispose of the resurrection? It is a fact beyond all question that a few days after the death of Jesus on the Cross, His bodily resurrection became somehow an immovable article of faith to every man and woman of His followers, and was maintained so firmly that they would have died rather than renounce it. On the strength of His resurrection, their cowed and timid spirits suddenly bounded up to the highest pitch of courage, and forthwith, like a band of heroes clad in impenetrable armour, they sallied forth preaching His gospel, and defying all the powers of earth and hell. This undeniable fact is one of which rationalists can give only the most pitiable explanations. How does Mr Robinson explain this strong, unhesitating, unanimous belief? Of course he does not believe in the bodily resurrection. He would say,

> "Now he is dead, far hence he lies
> In the lorn Syrian town;
> And on his grave, with shining eyes,
> The Syrian stars look down."

He seems to hold that "his spirit," after being kept for a time "bound to the tomb" (whatever that may mean), continued in some way to live on earth, but—mark his wonderful escape from the difficulty—"details regarding the resurrection of Jesus are beyond the purpose of this book." As if the question of the resurrection were a mere matter of detail, not needing to be considered seriously in an exposition of the life of Jesus! Did he learn this from Strauss, or from Keim, or from Pfleiderer, or from any rationalist writer who has tried to account for Christ on rational principles? If there were nothing else against him, the single fact of his shirking the great question of the resurrection is a death-blow to his whole contention.

Following other rationalist writers, Mr Robinson ascribes a great part of the miracles that we find in the gospels to misconceptions of the words of Jesus on the part of the writers, and to a tendency to substitute the real for the ideal, and to translate assertions of principle into alleged matters of fact. He makes great use of that very convenient canon of interpretation already adverted to—summarily rejecting every statement that has to him an unlikely look. How does he deal with the resurrection of Lazarus? He makes Jesus, in his convincing way, assure the sisters of no more than this—that their brother's life was not ended. Of course His conversation with Martha implied and plainly taught that his body would be raised from the tomb; but no such conversation could ever have taken place! What

happened was this. "On His way back from the grave He talked musingly over the loss of Lazarus, as we may gather, and let His musings lead on to His telling a most thoughtful, imaginative story. It was, we may believe, something like what we read in the sixteenth chapter of Luke; but we must believe it has been in Luke slightly tampered with." Then we have an elaborate description of the way in which the story in John of the resurrection of Lazarus arose out of the parable in Luke of Lazarus and the rich man. And it was for this, it would seem, that "the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered a council, . . . and from that day forth they took counsel together for to put Him to death." Not for vindicating His claim to Divine Sonship by a stupendous miracle, but for talking musingly of a future life, and telling an imaginative story of the resurrection. In other words, the deadly resolution of the Pharsees to kill Jesus was come to in consequence of His emphatically asserting their own favourite position in opposition to the Sadducees as to the resurrection and the life to come!

Gospel history, revised and corrected, is indeed a wonder, if not a miracle.

But we must hasten to say something on Mr Robinson's representation of the teaching of Jesus. Founding on certain "sample discourses," he says they "ring with two words. The one is FATHER; the other is BROTHER, or, as the case may be, SISTER. They are full of two eternal truths. The one is the Fatherly relation of God to men; the other is the purpose, in men's receiving life, that they should be brothers and sisters to each other. The one is the truth of the *infinite care of God for man;* the other is the truth of the *infinite responsibility of man to man.*" Now we are free to say that, viewed in themselves, there is much in the illustration which these truths receive in this book that is both refreshing and beautiful. There is a glow of feeling and enthusiasm over the teaching of Jesus on these points which is a great contrast to the hardness of Strauss and the frivolity of Renan. But the conception of Christ's teaching which is conveyed by the exclusive place of influence which these truths hold, and by their relation to other truths, is most imperfect, most misleading. Did Jesus make nothing of SIN in His teaching? Did He say nothing of sin as something needing to be forgiven, or of the sinful heart as needing to be renewed, or of His own blood as about to be shed for the remission of the sins of many? Was not the religion of Jesus Christ a religion for sinners, demanding on the part of everyone repentance and contrition, and making this contrition and the faith to which it leads the foundation of all that is fragrant and beautiful in the after-life of trust, obedience and love? We are taught in this book that God is the Father of all alike, and that in

the end all will share His kindness. No account is taken of the change of relation which sin has caused between God and man. King David has not ceased to love Absalom, but since Absalom slew his brother, he cannot be on friendly terms with his father. God continues to have a fatherly affection for His sinful children, but sin has forfeited all the claims of children, and exposed them to the punishment of criminals. No account is taken of the work of Christ in restoring the lost relation and the forfeited inheritance. Mr Robinson would no doubt draw his pen through that text which the dying Melanchthon found to be the joy of his deathbed, as many another has found it to cheer him in life and in death—"As many as received Him, to them He gave power to become children of God, even to them that believed upon His name."

But what can Mr Robinson make of those passages, which are neither few nor obscure, in which Jesus refers to the retributions of the future, and the doom of the impenitent and unbelieving? What, for example, can he make of the parable of the sheep and the goats? It is easily disposed of. Only one saying in that parable is genuine. "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of all My brethren, ye did it unto Me." The rest is not only unauthentic, but "as unlike the spirit of Jesus as anything we can well conceive." And this is just a specimen of the consummate nonchalance with which he treats the Gospel record. When commenting, for example, on the statement (Luke xxii. 24), "And there was also a strife among them which of them should be accounted the greatest," he dares to say, "Now this statement in itself is outrageous."

On just one other point we are desirous of examining the position of Mr Robinson—the dynamic power which he ascribes to the teaching of Jesus on the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. He represents the effect as having been quite extraordinary. Though he limits the public ministry to two years, he finds that during that time Jesus, by His admirable way of setting forth these truths, captivated the people of Capernaum, drew to Himself an enthusiastic band of delighted followers, and laid the foundation of that unparalleled influence for good which He has ever since exercised over the wide world. Now, in the first place, this teaching was not new; it was already contained in substance in the Old Testament, especially in such psalms as the 23rd, the 103rd, and the 15th. In the second place, it is not the promiscuous multitude but the thoughtful few that commonly respond to such teaching. In the third place, it is repeatedly stated, and it stands to common sense, that it was the miracles that attracted the multitude. And in the fourth place, what drew the select few was the persuasion that Jesus was the

Messiah, and that He had the power not only of revealing the Father, but of drawing men to Him as adopted sons, and thus making them partakers of salvation.

The notion that the whole influence of Jesus was due to His teaching gifts and His charming manner is one that will not stand investigation. Alike on the very surface, and at the very bottom of New Testament history, it is plain that the special relation between Jesus and His sincere followers was not merely that of scholars to a teacher, or of servants to a master, or of friends to a friend, but was emphatically that of sinners to a Saviour. And in the end of the day, when they came to see at what a price their salvation had been purchased, their attachment was all the greater. How came it that the great burden of the apostolic preaching was, that God had "exalted Jesus to be a prince and a Saviour, *for to grant repentance unto Israel and forgiveness of sins?*" How came it that Peter, after setting forth the unprecedented crime of His murderers, magnified the grace of God by declaring, "Unto you first, God having raised up His Son Jesus, sent Him to bless you *in turning away every one of you from his iniquities.*" How are we to account for the glorious stedfastness to Jesus of the noble army of the martyrs? How for the sublime visions of the Apocalypse? How for the conception of Jesus as GOD-MAN, which filled the soul of the Christian Church from the very beginning—the Incarnate Son who suffered on the cross, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh? Was not all this due to the sense of obligation which all felt to Jesus as the author of redemption, a sense of obligation so overpowering that it could not be restrained from breaking out in the sublimest of anthems—"Worthy is the Lamb that was slain!"

That this was the conception of Jesus Christ that prevailed from the very first is abundantly evident from this among other considerations, that when Saul of Tarsus was converted, this was the grand thought that filled his soul. And this was only from six to ten years after the death of Jesus. The men that attempt to rectify our Gospel history have to explain the fact, that somehow an entirely false conception of Jesus and of his religion got hold of the Church immediately after He disappeared from earth, and that this quite false version of Christianity is what has transformed the world and given its actual lustre to the religion of Jesus. For eighteen centuries men have been utterly deluded about Christ, who He was and what He did for men. At last, in the end of the nineteenth century, a rift has appeared in the cloud, and by-and-by, the mists of error will all disappear, and it will be seen that Jesus of Nazareth was simply the best and wisest of men—nothing more.

We cannot but regard this book as wholly denying Christ, and wholly subverting the Christian faith. Mr Robinson may apply the word "divinity" to Christ, and the word "supernatural" to his life, but he would be the first to own that he does not so apply these words in their current, accepted sense. It seems to us one of the strangest features of the case that a Minister of the Christian Church, one who has subscribed to the Westminster Confession of Faith, should not only promulgate such views, but deem himself quite justified in doing so. That, however, is a matter that touches his relation to his own Church, and on which, therefore, we will say nothing. We part from him, deeply regretting that one possessing such talents and enthusiasm should not have devoted them to a worthier cause. W. G. BLAIKIE.

Les Origines de l'Episcopat.

Etude sur la Formation du gouvernement ecclésiastique au sein de l'église chrétienne dans l'empire romain (Première partie). Par Jean Réville. Paris: E. Leroux; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo*, *pp.* 538. *Price*, 10*s.*

THIS fine large monograph, the first instalment of a complete study of the Origins of the Episcopate, is not only strong in philosophic grasp and in vivid realisation of all the conditions of Christian life in the first century after Christ—apart from which a certain kind of learning does here indeed seem to make men mad—but it is equally strong in the exhibition of detail. The period handled covers hardly a century, and yet 524 well-packed pages are devoted to it. For the author is aware that "the virtue of a study of this sort lies above all in detail." The true method must be more and more rigorously inductive, even though its first result is to show that "there was not one single governmental type at the beginnings of the Christian Church." Our review must accommodate itself to this profusion of detail by summarising M. Réville's findings very much in the words of his own *Conclusion* (pp. 521-4), and then proceeding briefly to estimate the degree in which he has succeeded in proving certain doubtful points.

Like most modern students he distinguishes broadly between the organisation of the Mother-Church of Jerusalem, with the Palestinian Churches more or less attached, and the extra-Palestinian communities in general. In the former "there prevailed the *légitimiste* principle of Government of the Church by the relations of the Messiah according to the flesh, in expectation of His glorious Return." In the latter, "the ecclesiastical organisation arose

gradually, in a spontaneous way, without copying this or that existing fixed type—whether that of the Jewish synagogue, or those of the private or public religious associations of Græco-Roman society—but by conforming to the general conditions regulative of the being of all religious guilds (*colléges*) of the period. Within this general setting the needs peculiar to Christian churches produced the differentiation of a certain number of organic functions specifically Christian in character. But this was not achieved in all Churches in the same manner, still less at the same time, since the conditions of existence were not the same for all."

From the first there was, broadly speaking, a distinction of (1) spiritual or religious and (2) administrative functions. "The former were at the start exercised almost solely by believers possessed of a *charism* or natural gift—of 'prophecy,' of 'teaching,' or of 'edification.' In the primitive community — sovereign, entirely democratic—the Christian people was sole judge of the teachings with which the Spirit of God inspired certain of the disciples of Christ. From the first, however, there arose in each Church a group of believers more zealous than the rest, taking more to heart the business of the community, and distinguished by the ardour and persevering devotion of their piety.[1] These are the *proïstamenoi* or the *presbyters*, that is, the spiritual notables, the Christians of the old stock (*de vieille roche*), and not simply the most aged members of the community. These presbyters soon came to form a closed body, a church council or a presbyteral council, into which one had to be admitted. They exercised in particular the cure of souls. As they were of a more ardent piety, they were appealed to by preference where any one wished to share in the spiritual benefits of piety. Thus the presbyteral dignity soon came to imply a religious superiority. As every decision of the primitive Christian community passed for inspired by the Holy Spirit, their election to the presbytery early conferred on them a superior authority. Finally, since their functions led them to catechise believers, they tended more and more to monopolise the instruction and edification to the detriment of the charismatic or inspired class of persons, prophets and *didaskaloi*, who were considered as an element of disorder."

"Episcopal functions, on the contrary, were originally of the administrative order. They were from the first distinct from the presbyteral functions, although they were often, perhaps oftener than not, performed by presbyters. The *episcopoi*, whose assistants

[1] Here the reader is asked to recall the experience of the modern mission-field, and then to read 1 Cor. xvi. 15, 16 with Rom. xii. 4-8 (*οἱ πολλοὶ . . . ἔχοντες χαρίσματα . . . ὁ παρακαλῶν . . . ὁ μεταδιδοὺς . . . ὁ προϊστάμενος . . . ὁ ἐλεῶν*) and 1 Thess. v. 11-22.

and deputies in some sort were the *diaconoi*, were to begin with the financial administrators, the stewards of the community, charged with the control of the services and with the execution of the decisions arrived at by the sovereign community, whether directly, or before long on the motion of the presbyteral council, when this latter became the regular adviser of the association. But in guilds essentially devoted to the spiritual life, as were the Christian Churches, administrative control came speedily to imply that of discipline. Thus the *episcopoi* were the guardians of discipline, and, once it began to shape itself, guardians also of the tradition on which the association was based—a tradition doctrinal, moral, ritual. At the same time, by the very fact of the conflict existing between their mission and the activity of the charismatic persons or those claiming *gnosis*,[1] they were led, like the presbyters, to assume the functions of instruction. The more the struggle between new tradition and *gnosis*, or prophetic individualism, waxed keen, the more the powers of the *episcopos* tended to increase."

"Whilst originally there seems to have been almost everywhere a plurality of *episcopoi* in each community, from the beginning of the second century the episcopate takes on the singular number in the Churches of Asia Minor. Here the *episcopos*, without having as yet a Catholic character, became more and more the representative of local ecclesiastical unity, the personification of his community, the ensign of fidelity to Christ and to God. Nevertheless, he holds his authority from the community which nominates him, and he cannot use it save in harmony with the presbyteral council, of which he is in some sort the executive power. This type of monarchical episcopacy makes its appearance in the Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch, but it is there presented in the state of becoming rather than as an already established reality. The Episcopate, in the singular, does not yet exist in the West, where the principles distinctive of the Catholic ecclesiastical system develop themselves, in the first instance, at Rome, without there being as yet a sole *episcopos* in that city."

"Such," concludes our author, "is the skeleton of the organism. It becomes living only when these various functions are replaced one after another in the various environments amid which they were developed. It is to the ever more precise discrimination of these primitive homes (*foyers*) of Christianity that historians must devote all their strength." These are wise words, and they imply two things: (1) A profounder study of the Græco-Roman environ-

[1] Apparently this is a prime factor lying behind the Corinthian troubles implied in *1 Clement*.

ment as reflected in many out-of-the-way authors, but in the new light cast by the revived study of archæology, brilliant instances of which are to hand in Dr W. M. Ramsay's recent works; (2) a more rigorously objective exegesis of the New Testament and other early Christian literature, based on *the context and that alone*, without any sly glances at the ecclesiastical relations of our own day: in cases of doubt, the genius of primitive piety to count heavily in the balance. The rest of the space at our disposal shall be used for the purpose of seeing how M. Réville's conclusions emerge from and return again naturally into his exegesis of the documents.

But how does M. Réville date his documents? His views, while both sober and solid, are of the radical order. In both respects he reminds one most of Weizsäcker. In the *Acts*, he sees a manifest tendency to "place under the authority of the Apostles ideas and tendencies contemporary, not with these apostles, but with the author of the *Acts*." Possibly, Ramsay's new work on *St Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen* may serve to put a somewhat different complexion on the aim at least of Acts xiii.-xxviii., and may contribute incidentally to modify any too unfavourable verdict as to the "contemporary character" of the bulk of even chs. i.-xii.[1] But, after all, the *Acts* must be judged through the Pauline Epistles, and here M. Réville uses as genuinely Pauline only the four great Epistles and *Philippians*, 1 *Thessalonians*, and *Philemon*.[2] As to the "Catholic Epistles," he finds in *James* a "little evangelic treatise" (its title, which alone makes it seem an epistle, not being original) emanating c. 75-100 from the Galilean or Syrian communities, whence also came the body of the evangelic tradition preserved in our Synoptic Gospels. 1 *Peter* is regarded as written at Rome (c. 80), after the death of Peter: but the trials in view

[1] In view of the present interest in the *Acts*, M. Réville's analysis of its sources may be of service. (1) A series of legendary traditions, obscure and already misunderstood by the compiler (i.-v.); (2) *Souvenirs* of the first struggles in the Jerusalem community between those of stricter and those of freer attitude to the law and its ritual (*e.g.* vi.-viii.); (3) Fragments of a Life of Peter (*e.g.* ix. 32—xi. 18, xii.); (4) Second-hand narratives of Paul's missionary activity; and (5) First-hand bits of evidence, few in number and of moderate extent, for certain incidents of Paul's missionary journeys. Our *Acts*, the work of the very intelligent compiler of the third Gospel, would thus originate c. 80-100 A.D., probably a little before the Pastoral Epistles, and exemplify along with these the first efforts of the Churches to give themselves a regular organisation (pp. 43-44).

[2] He lays 2 *Thess.* aside as not bearing on his study, and *Ephesians* and *Colossians* as "of an origin too uncertain" to be usefully consulted. For these latter he refers to Holtzmann, not rejecting them decisively, but holding that they bear, at least in part, the traces of a later hand (p. 99).

do not imply any fresh state-policy: and *Hebrews* is taken to belong to the same place and to much the same date. The Johannine writings he assigns (p. 207) to the end of the first century—though not to John himself—holding (against the Tübingen school) that their exact type of thought, with its evangelic mysticism, hardly survived into the next century. The later *gnosis* was of another and more abstract type. Of course, all re-dating of documents means that there are fewer fixed points in common from which to compare notes. But it must be said, in all candour, that M. Réville reaches his results by a temperate consideration of all lines of evidence, and not merely by that of the organisation implied in each—which would here mean arguing in a circle. In fact, a merit of his treatment is the way in which he shows the correlation of the various factors at work in the developing Church life. It is, as he says, "important to fully grasp the fact of the precocious blossoming out of *gnosis* in the Christian Church (c. 75-100), in order to explain the development, also precocious, of the Episcopate" of the Ignatian Epistles.

In chapter I. he states his problem; and, after surveying the inadequate solutions of Church Confessions and of modern criticism, he asks: "Were the functions of Presbyters and Bishops entirely distinct from the first, in such wise that in certain communities there were presbyters without bishops, in others bishops without presbyters, in yet others both bishops and presbyters, but with quite different missions?" To this set of queries he returns an affirmative answer. Our task, then, will be to show that this raises more difficulties than it removes; and that the hypothesis of a gradual differentiation within a body of presbyters or their equivalents in strictly Gentile Churches (*προϊστάμενοι, ἡγούμενοι*) is adequate to explain the emergence, first of groups of bishops and deacons, and then of a single bishop or pastor whose pre-eminence is the signal for despoiling his late colleagues of their second or special title of "bishops," rather than "presbyters."

M. Réville shows very finely that the root idea, whether of *presbyteroi* or of *proïstamenoi* is that of spiritual "notables," usually the men of weight and zeal among the first converts in a locality, who take the lead informally, and then are ratified in their functions and made a closed body by the voice of "the Assembly." To them he assigns "the cure of souls," relative both to individuals and to the society as a whole; also "the preparation of the decisions of the sovereign popular assembly and the anticipating of dangerous measures." To supplement this body there arise not only *diaconoi*, with the care of material wants of all sorts, but also *episcopoi*, to "execute the decisions of the assembly" and to "control the use of the common resources." It is from such control or

"oversight" that they derive their title (ἐπίσκοποι, rather than the more usual ἐπιμεληταί, because of a prevalent usage in the LXX). M. Réville, however, hastens to add that we must not take these typical distinctions too literally. Later on, at least, we may imagine "the control being confided to presbyters, and the cure of souls being certainly at times exercised by bishops" (179, *cf.* 164); while at all times bishops might also be presbyters. Why, then, should this not have been the case from the first, when all was so fluid and untechnical? The negation of this, and the consequent difficulty of finding distinctive work for such a plethora of officers in the simple relations of primitive Gentile communities (the Jewish ones seem to have managed easily enough with the simple expedient of a presbyteral body), land our author in some perplexity. For he cannot suggest (p. 165) "in what relations the bishops of Philippi stood to the leaders and advisers (προϊστάμενοι) of the little Church." Nor can one as yet see what real answer he could give to the following queries: (*a*) Why should "disciplinary control arise from the administrative responsibility of episcopi," rather than from the *religious* care of souls belonging to presbyters? Hatch and others found in discipline the most essential function of the presbyteral body (see 1 *Clem.* i. 3 and lvii. 1). (*b*) M. Réville assumes, rather than proves, that to the presbyters fell the duty of *catechesis*. Why then should they not develop into the guardians of the doctrinal tradition no less than the men originally appointed to be practical administrators? (*c*) Why, on his theory, are there no traces of friction between two such parallel yet distinct orders, while yet jealousy did arise when the monarchical bishop actually came to constitute a definite order to himself? (*d*) What became of his fellow *episcopoi* when one of their order became sole *episcopos*? Indeed, it is hard to see how this theory does other than complicate the problem of the emergence of the single bishop, even though we take due account of all the offices[1] which would tend to converge on one gifted *episcopos*, for the sake of order and continuity. (*e*) What proof have we that there were ever presbyters who were not, as described through their special function or gift,[2] either *episcopoi* or *diaconoi*? Is not this the real secret of the *non-mention* of presbyters in so Jewish a document as the *Didaché* (xv.: *cf.* Phil. i. 1), when we compare it with the kindred "Epistle" of *James* (v. 14). (*f*) For what proof also is there, in face of

[1] The fact that presbyters are in the earliest stratum of the *Kirchenordnung* styled "fellow-initiates of the bishop" (συμμύσται) at the Church's Altar of Alms, suggests that the bishop derived from them along the line of cultus.

[2] See Acts xx. 17, 28, ὑμᾶς (πρεσβυτέρους) τὸ Πν. τὸ Ἅγιον ἐπισκόπους, where the predicative use of ἐπ. is most valuable as a link between πρεσβ. and ἐπισκ. as titles.

1 Cor. xvi. 15 f. (*εἰς διακονίαν ἔταξαν ἑαυτούς . . . ὑποτάσσησθε τοῖς τοιούτοις*), that *diaconoi* were originally only assistants rather than colleagues, in one (presbyteral) body, to the *episcopoi?*

Other and minor points of exegesis cannot now be noted. But even though our author has given a doubtful turn to certain facts by his desire to keep *presbyteros* and *episcopos* unduly apart, and this perhaps owing to a tendency to let the "Diaspora" element count too little in the ideas and instincts of the Churches on Gentile soil, we have yet to thank him for the most rigorously scientific discussion of early organisation as yet to hand. His method in the grouping of his sources, at once chronologically and geographically, is a real contribution to clear thinking on the subject. His insistence on the fact that Ignatius' bishop, far as he still is from the "Catholic" type, is more an ideal than a *fait accompli*, is most timely. The true "Old Catholics" are those who go behind the diocesan bishop to the congregational or city bishop, the common basis of all the great ecclesiastical polities of Christendom.

VERNON BARTLET.

Philo About the Contemplative Life; or, The Fourth Book of the Treatise concerning Virtues.

Critically edited, with a Defence of its Genuineness, by Fred. C. Conybeare, M.A., late Fellow of University College, Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Demy 8vo, pp. xvi. 403. Price, 14s.

THE treatise on the *Contemplative Life* deserves all the care which has been lavishly bestowed upon it by its latest editor. Whether it was written by Philo about the year A.D. 25, or by a pseudo-Philo at the close of the third century, it is a document of Church History; and if the latter hypothesis is adopted, it gains rather than loses in importance. The well-known description of the Therapeutae which it contains attracted the attention of Eusebius, who perceived a likeness between the customs of the Therapeutae and those of Christian monks and nuns; and it is to Eusebius rather than to Philo that the Therapeutae owe their place in ecclesiastical history and ecclesiastical controversy. The Therapeutae, according to Eusebius, were the Alexandrian converts of Saint Mark, men of Hebrew stock, however, who continued jealously to observe most of their national observances. Philo did not call them Christians because the name had not yet been everywhere proclaimed; but he knew them to be so, having himself associated with the Apostle Peter in Rome. Mr

Conybeare remarks with justice that the chapters of Eusebius on the Therapeutae make evident the complete absence of anything like records in the days of Eusebius of the early fortunes of the Church. "We feel," he writes, "how impenetrable is the darkness which broods over the origins of Christianity as soon as we go outside the New Testament." The identification by Eusebius of the Therapeutae with Christian ascetics was eagerly accepted by Jerome, Epiphanius and later writers; it became a standing article in the apology for monasticism that Philo had borne witness to the existence of monks and nuns among the converts of Saint Mark. Perhaps we owe to this delusion the preservation of the voluminous works of Philo which thus escaped the fate which has overtaken most of the Jewish Alexandrian writers. As Mr Conybeare points out, it was because Philo was regarded as the historian and apologist of the earliest monks and nuns, and of the Apostle Mark's first converts, that in subsequent ages monks were found willing to undertake the arduous task of transcribing his works.

The weakness of Philo's supposed historical testimony to an early Christian monasticism did not escape the notice of the reforming party in the sixteenth century. A controversy arose regarding it, in which Baronius, the Jesuit Nicolas Serrarius, and Bellarmine defended the traditional opinion, which was assailed by Joseph Scaliger, Daillé and others with such success that after a time the trustworthiness of the testimony of Philo to early Christian asceticism was tacitly abandoned even by Romish scholars.

In our century the controversy has been revived in a somewhat different form by Professor Grätz, and F. Lucius, a theologian of Strasburg, who published in the year 1880 a work entitled—*Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Askese.* Lucius returned to the Eusebian view of the Therapeutae, whom he regarded as Christian ascetics; but he did not accept the *Contemplative Life* as the work of Philo, maintaining that it was a tendency writing composed at the end of the third century under the name of Philo as an apology for monasticism. The view of Lucius was accepted almost at once by a number of distinguished scholars, among whom were A. Hilgenfeld, A. Harnack, E. Schürer, and Edward Zeller. The last-named veteran scholar formally recanted his previously expressed views, in favour of the theory of the younger man, and E. Schürer wrote that the investigations of Lucius had placed the spuriousness of the treatise beyond the possibility of doubt. The main purpose of Mr Conybeare's edition is to combat this theory, which has found so many distinguished supporters, and to restore the *Contemplative Life* to a place among the genuine works of Philo. It is impossible to speak too highly of the zeal and learning with which Mr Conybeare has performed his self-imposed task;

and, if we may venture to express an opinion contrary to the consensus of so many authorities, he has made out a case, if not for an immediate reversal of judgment, at all events for a reconsideration of the evidence on the strength of which Lucius was permitted to gain an easy victory. Mr Conybeare is a ripe and good scholar, but unfortunately not so persuading as he might have been had he pleaded his cause in a less intemperate fashion. He writes in a spirit of boisterous indignation, and is as vituperative as a controversialist of the sixteenth century. Another grave fault in his advocacy is his unfortunate tendency to multiply arguments. These fall upon the reader as thickly as snowflakes, till he is inclined to seek any shelter to avoid them. But if a judicious selection is made from Mr Conybeare's crowd of arguments, it will be seen that he has presented a strong case, and with great learning. The most forcible argument in favour of the genuineness of the *Contemplative Life* is afforded by its close resemblance in diction and spirit to the acknowledged works of Philo. The large number of illustrative quotations from the latter, printed in Mr Conybeare's edition below the text of the *Contemplative Life*, enable the reader to judge of the force of this argument; and he will probably come to the conclusion that, if the writer was a pseudo-Philo of the third century, he possessed a skill in the art of literary personation to which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find another example in the whole compass of pseudepigraphic literature. The external evidence in favour of the treatise is also of considerable weight. According to Lucius it was written about A.D. 300; but fifteen years later Eusebius uses it without suspicion. The Armenian version cannot be later than 420; and in the Latin version we have another witness of the same age; and Mr Conybeare argues with much force that the Armenian and Latin versions which we possess must have had behind them a history so long that their convergence with the Greek MSS. must be placed at a time long anterior to 300 A.D. There are, moreover, considerable antecedent improbabilities in the theory of Lucius. It seems a somewhat roundabout method of defending Christian monasticism to put a description of it in the mouth of Philo the Jew; but if a writer had done so, would he not have made his description recognisable by the general reader? If the "holy symposium" pictured by the pseudo-Philo is intended as a description of the Agapé and Eucharist, it is so veiled that few can have understood it, until Eusebius came to their help with his exegesis. It is certainly more natural to understand it as a description of the Pentecostal festival. There is not much force in the remark of Lucius that the author of the *Contemplative Life* describes luxury of such a character as could not have existed in Alexandria during the first century, as it must have taken the Greeks and

barbarians at least a hundred years to imitate the luxury of Rome which first reached its acme under the Empire. Alexandria was but a few days' sail from Rome, and no two ports in the Mediterranean had such constant intercourse. There is more force in the argument *e silentio*. The Therapeutae are not mentioned by any writer except Philo; Josephus, who describes the Essenes, is silent about the Therapeutae. Mr Conybeare, however, gives reasons for his conclusion that the sect existed but for a short period, and that when Josephus wrote they had faded away. Much weight is given by Grätz to the presence of female ascetics among the Therapeutae, although we learn from Josephus that the Essenes carefully avoided the society of women. But ascetic societies always begin with the repudiation of female companionship; after a time, however, woman, in a spirit of holy rivalry, claims a place in the devout life, and there arise female communities who are permitted to share in the prayers and hardships of men. In Palestine the ascetics are all men, but it is not improbable that in the more advanced and liberal atmosphere of Alexandria women should have been permitted to share in the hardships of the devout life. For other arguments and counter-arguments we must refer our readers to Mr Conybeare's learned pages. We conclude by quoting his spirited indictment of the theory of Lucius.

"Let us, then, before quitting this part of the subject, sum up the various characteristics which the readers of Lucius' pseudo-Philo must have possessed, in order that the forgery should appeal to them. Firstly, they must have been diligent readers of Philo, or they would not have been so well acquainted with his style as to realise that this, in all other ways unauthenticated, treatise was his. Secondly, they were to be Sabbatarians of a pre-Christian and an anti-Christian type, and were to be Μωϋσέως γνώριμοι and lovers of the Jewish Law. Thirdly, they were to be archæologists, or they would have been offended at the recumbent position in the Eucharist. Fourthly, they were to be Aquarii or Hydroparastatae. Fifthly, they were to be Hierakitae and approve of joint-establishments of monks and nuns. Sixthly, to appreciate the forger's masterpiece, they must have been tinged with Stoic thought, or they could not have understood the frequent references in the D.V.C. to the law of nature. Seventhly, they must have been moderately tinged with Pythagorean learning, or the passage at 481. 25 foll. would probably have annoyed them. Eighthly, they must have united with the above intellectual peculiarities a certain gift of clairvoyance, or they would not have seen that a sect, which could be described by Philo, a contemporary of Jesus Christ, as being already at the time of his describing them a very old sect, with very old συγγράμματα written by their old time founders, was no other

than the early Church, and the said founders no other than the Apostles. Or are we to regard it as a proof of the extreme subtlety both of the forger and his readers, that this touch was introduced into the pseudepigraphon! Ninthly, these fourth-century readers, whom this forgery was destined to deceive, must have possessed extreme magnanimity, otherwise they cannot have cared to learn that the early Church was a αἵρεσις. But after all, did not the forger take the Hierakitae for his model? Tenthly, these same readers must have had some of Lucius' own insight, or they could not have realised at once that when Philo talked of Law he meant the Gospel; when of Jews, that he meant Christians; when of the Sabbath, that he meant Sunday; when of the Pentecostal meals, that he meant the Eucharist. Did ever forger look for so many requirements in his readers, or presuppose in them the union of so many various parts?"

Mr Conybeare's argument, with its vast array of heads and particulars, is unfortunate in form, reminding one of the sermon to which Dugald Dalgetty listened with so much impatience. But there is reason and force in his pleadings, and unless some better answer can be made to them than Lucius has offered, scholars will hardly venture in the future to speak of the *Contemplative Life* as a work whose spuriousness has been demonstrated beyond all possibility of doubt.

JOHN GIBB.

Philo and Holy Scripture; or, The Quotations of Philo from the Books of the Old Testament, with Introduction and Notes.

By Herbert Edward Ryle, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 352. Price, 10s. net.

THIS work is described by its author as an attempt to collect, arrange in order, and for the first time print in full all the actual quotations from the Books of the Old Testament to be found in Philo's writings and a few of his typical Paraphrases. Professor Ryle deserves the thanks of his fellow-labourers in the fields of exegesis for a work the composition of which must have been something of an ascetic exercise. Many who would have been deterred from turning over the leaves of the voluminous works of Philo can now ascertain, at a glance, what Philo has to teach regarding the canon and text of the Old Testament during the first century. The fact which stands out most prominently in the quotations of Philo from the Old Testament is the pre-eminent position of the Penta-

teuch. To the Jews of the Diaspora, as to the Jews of Palestine, the Pentateuch was already a Bible within the Bible, and Philo exhausts his vocabulary in finding laudatory epithets to bestow upon its author, whom he names the Hierophant of sacred rites, the best beloved of God, the all-wise, and even the omnipotent. While the Alexandrian mystic thus gave the place of honour to the least mystical of the books of Scripture, he appears to have lightly esteemed other books which might readily have furnished him with matter for his theosophic musings. He neither quotes nor mentions Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Lamentations, Ezekiel, or Daniel. We cannot, however, conclude from his silence that the unmentioned books had no place in Philo's Canon. With regard to Ezekiel, its position in Ecclus 49. 8 between Jeremiah and the Minor Prophets guarantees its canonicity two centuries before Philo. It is different with Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Daniel, which were the latest books received into the Canon, and Professor Ryle thinks it improbable that their canonicity was fully established in Egypt in the time of Philo.

The quotations are arranged according to books, and the editor has supplied notes in which attention is directed to the variations of the text of Philo from other texts of the Greek Bible. The importance of Philo's quotations to the student of the text of the Old Testament is due to the circumstance that he used MSS. older by two centuries than the oldest which we possess. These MSS. did not come, as all others do, through Christian sources, but exhibit the text of the Synagogues of the Diaspora before the influence of the Church made itself felt either on the text or on the interpretation of the text.

Philo's quotations from the Greek Bible likewise possess an interest for the student of the New Testament. They present the phenomenon in an exaggerated form, of loose and apparently careless quotation, which has created perplexity in the pages of New Testament writers. He frequently gives the sense of a passage in his own words. He condenses many passages which he quotes, and he introduces variations either from a slip of the memory or through preference for a more familiar word having the same meaning; and lastly, he introduces rhetorical amplification and allegorizing interpretation into his quotations. To this it may be added that a large number of his quotations are so much interspersed with paraphrase and comment that no confidence can be felt as to the actual text which he employed. The loose method of quotation in the New Testament has sometimes been ascribed to the want of literary habit on the part of the writers. But it is to be found to a greater extent in Philo, who was a voluminous writer, and one of the most

cultivated men of the age. It was the universal custom of antiquity to pay no regard to verbal accuracy in quotation, and—what appears to us less excusable—to introduce their own thoughts into passages quoted. Writers on philosophy and religion allowed themselves a greater license than did others. The bondage of the letter was to them intolerable, as it checked the current of thoughts and emotions; and they often compelled ancient writers to give utterance to their own ideas. Philo's manner of quotation does not agree well with his rigid doctrine of verbal inspiration; but doctrines of inspiration, however rigid in theory, usually yield to the exigencies of popular religious teaching, and those who hold them frequently take liberties with the text of Scripture from which scholars who hold laxer theories would recoil.

We would venture, in conclusion, to express a hope that this volume may not prove the last of the author's studies in Philo. It has recently been remarked by Professor Sanday that any future advance in New Testament exegesis is to be looked for chiefly through a continuous and careful study of the Jewish writings between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D. Professor Ryle has already made an important contribution to the understanding of those writings in his excellent edition of the Psalms of Solomon. Were the writings of Philo edited with the same care by himself, or by some equally competent scholar, we should possess an important aid to New Testament study; for Philo is helpful not only as regards the language of the New Testament, but because of the light which he throws upon the doctrinal conceptions and the exegetical traditions of the Synagogues of the Diaspora, by which the writers of the New Testament were more influenced than by the Schools of Palestine. JOHN GIBB.

Bishop Heber: Poet and Chief Missionary to the East, 1783-1826.

By George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D. London: John Murray. 8*vo*, *pp. xv.* 370. *Price,* 10*s.* 6*d.*

HEBER, as Dr Smith reminds us, ruled over the vastest of dioceses, for, while his see took its name from Calcutta, he held himself commissioned to be "missionary metropolitan of Asia, Africa, and Australia." This largeness of subject might have ministered to that gasping comprehensiveness (as of one straining after dim imperial distances and an incommensurable range of space) which has so often first attracted and then fatigued the homely wits of home-keeping men, when listening to eloquent representatives of the

East. It has not done so in the present case. Dr Smith has skilfully fitted his subject into the frame, or rather into the scaffolding, of a progressive providence. The expansion of England, before and at the time with which he deals, so obviously called for an expansion of Christian and missionary responsibilities, that Heber's large commission is felt to have been barely adequate. And the three years of life, which were all that remained to the Bishop after his consecration, were devoted exclusively to India, and indeed to becoming acquainted with the India of the time, as it tumbled, bit by bit, into the hands that now hold it. There is a fascination in all the details—*e.g.*, in learning the results of what had happened only "two months before the crowning victory of Waterloo."

"A hill country of the size of Switzerland, but even more beautiful, and a million of trusty Highlanders, were added to the British Empire. There Heber now found himself, after the toils and the exposure of the plains, during seven months of the hot and rainy seasons of 1824, in the shadow of thirty snow peaks, all much loftier than Mount Blanc, and three of them rising to 26,000 feet. There he was in the centre of the land of the great rivers which form the Ganges system, near the sources of the glacier-born streams, up which thousands of Hindoos daily toil from the parched plains below seeking for God, if haply they may find Him in the ice-bound solitudes, and there wash the conscience clean."

And this was but one of many doors, suddenly opened for victors who chose to enter in. But Heber was our first man to do it as a missionary bishop in the East. His predecessor was Bishop Middleton, of whom his biographer writes: "It is not unusual to imagine that the President of our Asiatic Church is chiefly to be regarded as a sort of head missionary, and that his principal duty is to encourage and keep alive the work of conversion among the natives. To this view of his office Bishop Middleton firmly and most justly *opposed himself* in the very outset of his administration," and his nine years of office were spent in contendings and disputings with the Company. Heber "was exactly the opposite, alike in the wise and Christian spirit which he showed to the civil authorities, the catholicity with which he welcomed the co-operation of Dissenters, and the frank enthusiasm which led him from the first to magnify his office by proclaiming himself the chief missionary."

It follows that his work, short as it was, must ever be memorable in the development of the Church of England. But the man himself was singularly representative, both of that old Church and of its new function. Born in the subdued purple of Anglican culture, he early charmed every one by an unexampled union and harmony of personal gifts. After his death Archdeacon Corrie gave expres-

sion to the quaint complaint: "Such was the natural amiability of his character that it was often difficult to say whether he acted from nature or from grace." It is a difficulty which neither England nor Oxford has ever felt as serious; and having been at that University "beyond all question or comparison, the most distinguished student of his time," his contemporary, Sir Charles P. Grey, long after testifies: "The name of Reginald Heber was in every mouth; his society was courted by young and old; he lived in an atmosphere of favour, admiration, and regard, from which I have never known any one but himself who would not have derived, and for life, an unsalutary influence." He was saved largely by the missionary devotion which early found expression in his hymns as Rector of Hodnet. Besides "From Greenland's icy mountains" (written in a few minutes on a Saturday in 1819 for the service of the following Whitsunday morning), about thirty of Heber's fifty-seven hymns still hold a place in the front rank of popular approval and use. And it is a curious fact—recalling what had happened at the Reformation in Scotland and elsewhere—that many of them were suggested to the ear of the poet by old Scottish tunes. In each case the music was the mother of the song. "Brightest and best," for example, came from "Wandering Willie"; "The God of Glory" from "Banks of Doon"; "The World grown old" from "Logie o' Buchan"; and "Thou art gone to the grave" from "Auld Robin Gray."

A. Taylor Innes.

Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien.

Drittes Heft. Paralleltexte zu Lucas, gesammelt und untersucht von Alfred Resch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo, pp. ix.* 847. *Price, M.*27.

This third volume of a truly monumental work will certainly enhance Dr Resch's reputation, and will put him in the foremost rank, if not in the foremost place, among students of early Christian literature. It takes up, in order, more than 500 passages in the Gospel of Luke; and in each case exhibits in full "the extra-canonical parallel texts" gathered from early church literature. "Quotations from our Gospels" we may not call them, for it is part of Dr Resch's theory that there was an *Urevangelium* in very wide circulation alongside the canonical gospels, composed originally in Hebrew, but afterwards translated into Greek, and that it was from this document that several of the oldest codices obtained, directly or indirectly, their remarkable readings, and that it was also used by

the Apostles and the early Church Fathers. Dr Resch's criteria for determining whether the Fathers are quoting from the canonical gospels or the *Urevangelium* are these: if a passage in a Version or in one of the Fathers presents a Hebraistic idiom where our Gospels do not; or if, instead of quoting our gospels *verbatim*, it presents the same meaning in synonymous phraseology, this is regarded by our author, in perhaps some thousands of instances, as a clear indication that the "parallel-text" is drawn from the Hebrew *Urevangelium*, and even as furnishing a guide to the restoration of the Hebrew text. As to the insufficiency of this criterion I have protested more than once in the pages of this magazine (*cf.* Vol. v. 38), and therefore forbear to make further comment.

The documents on which our author chiefly relies, as preserving the readings of the *Urevangelium* are Codex Bezæ, the Curetonian Syriac, with now its companion Lewisianus, the codices of the Vetus Itala, and, in the present volume, though almost ignored before, the Palestinian Lectionary. The agreement of all or any of these fixes the text of the primitive Gospel infallibly.

The object which Dr Resch has in view in this connection is thus quite distinct from that of Westcott and Hort and other exponents of textual criticism. Their object is to restore the Greek text to the condition in which it came from the hands of the canonical writers. Dr Resch aspires to get behind the synoptists to the document which they used in common, and which they somewhat modified and re-arranged so as to suit the purpose they had in view.

While our author is full of praises as to Luke's accuracy, considering him as the real historiographer of the New Testament, the one most free from *Tendenz* and most carefully following his "sources," he yet thinks that he notes in him a decided disposition to abridge the "source," especially towards the close of a narrative or discourse. This disposition is so constant that Dr Resch raises it to the dignity of a "law," and calls it "the Law of Parcimony," and on pages 838-40 (as I discovered, with mingled feelings, after having carefully collected them in the course of my reading) he gives a Verzeichniss der interressantesten Textkürzungen which occur in the third Gospel. The items in this list of abbreviations produce very varying degrees of conviction: running over the entire gamut from complete assent to complete dissent. No one will doubt, *e.g.*, that in several cases where Matthew gives a longer account than Luke, Matthew gives the complete saying of our Lord and Luke is the abbreviator, *e.g.*, in the Lord's Prayer (Luke xi. 2-4, R.V.), and in the account of the Temptation (Luke iv. 4). Almost equally certain is it that Luke omitted from his "source" the words preserved in Matthew, "and causeth his sun to shine on the evil and the good" (Luke vi. 35); "if the mighty works had been done

in Sodom, &c." (Luke x. 15); "and the servant as his lord" (Luke vi. 40; Matthew x. 25); "on these two commandments hang the whole law and the prophets" (Luke x. 27; Matt. xxii. 40); and "as Jonah was in the belly of the whale," &c. (Luke xi. 30; Matt. xxii. 40).

But when Dr Resch claims, for the *Urevangelium*, words found in early literature, but not found in any Greek codex, and reckons these as "abbreviations" by Luke, we naturally pause and think. We subjoin a few specimens, *italicising* the words which we are told that Luke *omitted* from his copy of the primitive Gospel.

Luke iii. 21. *And fire was kindled in the Jordan.* So Justin.
iv. 3. *Why art thou hungry?* if thou art the Son of God, &c.
ix. 23. Let him take his cross every day *rejoicing.*
x. 16. He that heareth you heareth Me, *and he that heareth Me heareth Him that sent Me.* He that rejecteth you rejecteth Me, and he that rejecteth Me, &c.
xi. 4. Lead us not into a temptation *which we cannot bear.*
xii. 5. Fear Him who is able *to save* and to destroy.
xii. 31. But seek the Kingdom of God and its righteousness, *for these are great things; and the little things concerning this life, these* shall be added unto you. So Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 6.
xiii. 33. I must to-day and to-morrow *have care,* and the next day I must depart, for it cannot be, &c. So Diatessaron.
xv. 5. He lays it on his shoulders *and carries it to the fold.* So Didasc. ii. 20, and Const. ii. 20.
xvi. 10. *If ye have not kept the little, who will give you the great?* So Clem. Rom. ii. 8 and Iren. ii. 34.
xvii. 1. *Good things must come, and blessed is he through whom they come; likewise σκάνδαλα* must come, but woe to him through whom they come.
xx. 25. Give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, and to God *what ye owe restore to Him.* So Eph. Syr.

Codex Bezæ is attracting a great amount of attention at the present time—and deservedly so. It may be interesting therefore if we give a few readings of this MS., which Dr Resch considers to preserve genuine readings of the *Urevangelium.*

Luke iii. 10. What must we do *that we may be saved?* So v. 12-14.
v. 10. *Be not catchers of fishes, for* I will make you fishers of men.
ix. 26. Whosoever shall be ashamed of Me *and Mine.*

Luke ix. 55. Rebuked them *and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.*
xi. 2. Thy name be hallowed *on us.*
xiii. 7. *Take the axe and* cut it down.
xiii. 8. I will dig round it and put *a basket of* dung to it.
xv. 21. *Make me as one of thy hired servants.*
xvi. 19. *And he spake also another parable.* (That of Dives and Lazarus.)
xviii. 4. Afterward he *came to* himself and said.
xx. 34. The sons of this age *are born and beget,* marry, &c.
xxii. 16. Until *it is eaten* new in the Kingdom.
xxii. 28. Ye who continued with Me in My temptations *have grown in My service as he that serveth.*

There is nothing inherently improbable in any of these readings of Codez Bezæ; all they lack is sufficient evidence.

We will now adduce a few instances in which Resch undertakes by his principles to restore the true text of the *Urevangelium,* when it is diversely modified, and sometimes lost in our canonical Gospels. In Luke ix. 62 we are told that the complete original text read, "No man who has put his hand to a plough and looks back can make the furrow straight. So no one who looks back is fit for the Kingdom of God." Luke xi. 2, "When ye pray use not vain repetitions like the rest; for some think that by their much speaking they shall be heard, but when ye pray, say, Our Father." Luke xvi. 16 originally read: "The Law and the prophets announced beforehand the Kingdom of God until John: from that time is the Kingdom of God reached through violence (Durchbruch), and to the violent (Durchbrechern) the Kingdom belongs." Dr Resch explains this passage by the use of the Hebrew word פְּרַץ to "break through;" and if it were not that this word has the same meaning in Aramaic, I should really be compelled to admit that Luke found *this* passage in Hebrew. But I venture to think that Dr Resch has not realised the full value of his identification. פרץ = to "break through," "use violence"; but the participle of this verb is used of those who have broken through the fence of the law, "the sinners," "the publicans and harlots," who in Matt. xxi. 32 are said to go into the kingdom before others. Therefore, when Matt. xi. 12 says *βιασταὶ ἁρπάζουσιν αὐτήν,* the re-translation shows that the *βιασταὶ* are the law-breakers, "sinners." This is modified by Luke xvi. 16 into "*Everybody* violently-enters into it;" and when Luke uses *εὐαγγελίζεται* for *βιάζεται* in Matt., he read אִתְפְּרַס for אִתְפְּרַץ. So that the passage furnishes us with an instance of paranomastic parallelism, so dear to the Semitic mind:—

"The Kingdom of God is violently-broken-into
And the law-breakers seize it."

Other original readings of the Semitic gospel, according to our author, are: "Master, what good shall I do, &c. Why speakest thou to me of the good. There is one who is good" (Luke xviii. 18, 19). "Every one who has left all for My name's sake shall receive manifold and eternal life" (Luke xviii. 19). "This generation shall not pass away before the destruction receives its commencement" (Luke xxi. 32).

Our author has adopted Mr Conybeare's theory as to the authorship of Mark xvi. 9-20 by Ariston of Pella; and in the present volume he finds for this worthy a suitable sphere of activity, *circ.* 140 A.D., in amplifying Luke's condensed sentences, filling up his omissions and otherwise modifying the genuine Lucan text. It was probably Ariston, being a Jewish Christian, who altered Luke iii. 22 so as to read, "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee;" and who introduced from the Logia the words, "Ye know not what spirit ye are of," which Luke had omitted in ix. 56. From the same "source" he supplied some of Luke's omissions in the Lord's Prayer, Luke xi. 4; and inserted the words, "There came an angel from heaven strengthening him" (Luke xxii. 43); and he is also made responsible for the insertion of the statement that the stone at the sepulchre was one "which twenty men could scarcely roll" (Luke xxiii. 53).

Dr Resch expresses more unfalteringly than in his second volume his conviction that the *Urevangelium* was in Hebrew and not Aramaic. He is quite conscious that he stands now in a small minority, but this does not make him any the less courageous in his attacks on every one who may differ from him. Passing by his running fire on myself, I will briefly direct attention to the passages in which he assails others who hold the Aramaic hypothesis. On page 83 Credner is the object of his animadversions; on page 230, Dr Chase, who has said respecting the Lord's Prayer that "it may be taken for certain that the Prayer was originally in Aramaic;" on page 425, Paul Ewald, for having styled Resch's various translations "worthless synonyms"; and on page 687, Wellhausen; while of the efforts of Chwolson and the Jewish professor, Dr Kaufmann, to explain Luke xxii. 7, Matt. xxvi. 17, by re-translation into Aramaic, he says they remind him of the remarks he has made about myself in Heft I.

It is to me a matter of deep interest that in the present volume Dr Resch recognises the antiquity and value of the text preserved in the Palestinian Lectionary. This valuable document was rarely quoted in his previous volumes, and even here his use of it is some-

what fitful. On pages 87 and 93 it would have strengthened his case much had he noted that Syr-jer reads, "Be ye merciful as your Father is merciful, and compassionate is He" (Luke vi. 35). On Luke vii. 45 he failed to note that the reading of Ephraim, "A kiss of salutation thou gavest not to me" is a conflate reading from the Greek: "A kiss thou gavest not to me," and Syr-jer, "A salutation thou gavest not to me." Among so many other variants there are some *unique* readings of the Lectionary which we might have expected Dr Resch to cite. *E.g.* on Luke vi. 35, "Lend and do not lose hope"; x. 1, "And he designated also his seventy disciples"; xii. 20, "This night they are drawing thy soul from thee"; and on xxi. 19, "For indeed by your endurance ye are gaining your souls"; while on Luke xxiii. 43 he omits to notice that the Lectionary gives the same reading as Acta Pilati, "To day thou *art* with me in Paradise."

It is an important part of Dr Resch's theory that the apostles Paul, Peter and James made use of the Hebrew primitive gospel. He even holds that it is to this that Paul refers when in 1 Cor. xv. 3 he says, "Christ was raised the third day, according to the *Scriptures.*" Many of the instances cited by our author as indicating Paul's acquaintance with the words of Jesus are profoundly suggestive. *E.g.* when he traces the connection between faith and salvation in Rom. i. 16, 1 Cor. i. 21, to Christ's words: "lest they should believe and be saved" (Luke viii. 12); and derives 1 Thess. i. 6, "Having received the word in much affliction with joy," from Luke viii. 13. Equally justifiable is the connection he seeks to establish between the Pauline doctrine of Redemption in Rom. viii. 32, 1 Tim. ii. 6, and the words of Jesus in Matt. xx. 28, curtailed however in Luke xx. 27; and also between the doctrine of the atoning efficacy of Christ's death as taught in Eph. i. 7, Col. i. 14, and the words of Jesus at the Supper, *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.* With equal reason does he derive 2 Tim. iv. 18 and 2 Peter ii. 9 from the petition "Deliver us from evil"; and 1 Cor. i. 22, "The Jews seek signs," from Luke xi. 29; and James i. 6, "Let him ask of God," &c., from Luke xi. 12; and 1 Peter i. 13, "Girding up the loins of your mind," from Luke xii. 35. Even more striking is the connection which Resch points out between Luke xxi. 24, "And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled," and Rev. xi. 2 and Rom. xi. 25. In two cases the derivation is concealed by variant translation from the Semitic "source." (1) Luke x. 27, "On (*ἐν*) these two commands is *hung* the whole law." Gal. v. 14, "In one word is *fulfilled* all the law." Dr Resch explains the difference as arising from confusion between תִּלֶה and כִּלֶה. Why not between תִּלָא and כִּלָא?

(2) Matt. vi. 20, "Lay up treasures (θησαυρούς) where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt." James v. 2, "Your riches (πλοῦτος) are corrupted, your garments are moth-eaten, your gold and silver are rusted." Dr Resch clearly sees (p. 330) that "treasures" and "riches" are variant renderings of a Semitic original, but as the Hebrew furnishes no assistance he is silent. Whereas in Aramaic סִיתָא = a "treasure," and in the Palestinian dialects it also denotes "silver and gold," "riches."

We feel bound to express disapprobation at some of Dr Resch's supposed quotations in the Epistles from the primitive Gospel. It is surely a ὕστερον πρότερόν to infer that Paul drew the words, "He will not suffer you to be tempted above what ye can bear" (1 Cor. x. 13), from the *Urevangelium*, because Jerome and some others in quoting the Lord's Prayer say, "Lead us not into temptation which we cannot bear" (page 240): and that he quoted from the "source" the figure of the thief in the night, because Epiphanius connects this figure with Luke xii. 36*a*. Equally precarious is his derivation of Rom. xiii. 7, "Give to all their dues" from the rendering in Ephraim of Luke xx. 25, which Resch considers a genuine Logion: "Give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, and to God render to Him what ye owe"; but our author reaches the *ne plus ultra* when he says that when Paul uses the word ἄφρων in 1 Cor. xv. 36 he was quoting Luke xii. 20. This is an excess of zeal.

In a work written by one who is both a scholar and a sincere Christian, there are, scattered everywhere, elucidations of Scripture passages which well repay careful perusal: but his most valuable remarks are those on the Lord's Prayer, the Parousia, the Lord's Supper, the Passion and the Resurrection. We will now offer a few words on each of the subjects.

1. In his observations on the Lord's Prayer Dr Resch alludes to the paucity of allusions to it in the earliest church literature—Justin never mentioning it—but shows how the discovery of the Didaché threw light on the darkness by quoting it, and enjoining that it be offered three times a day. He quotes with approval that part of Chase's work, "The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church," in which he shows a parallelism between the parts of the Prayer and the Temptation, but as to the "birthplace" of the prayer he prefers the scene of Christ's Baptism (John x. 40) to Olivet: and thinks that the prayer "breathes the breath of the place where Jesus, through His Baptism, and after His Temptation, began His work"; and from which He was about to go to Jerusalem. He supports the originality of "Hallowed be Thy name *on us*" from the Jewish Prayer-Book; and maintains that the variant "Let Thy Holy Spirit come on us and cleanse us" was used in connection

with Baptism: but thinks that Chase's contention that there were three forms of the Prayer—one for the laying-on of hands and for Baptism, one for morning and evening, and one for the Eucharist—is set aside by the Didaché; while as for the Doxology, he finds the earliest trace in 2 Tim. iv. 18, "To whom be the glory for ever." Then comes Didaché viii. 2, "Thine is the power and the glory for ever." Then Syr-cur to Matt. vi. 13, "Thine is the kingdom and the glory for ever." Then Ap. Const. iii. 18, which gives the ordinary three-membered Doxology. (Pp. 225-243.)

2. As to the Parousia, he maintains that a comparison of the three synoptic accounts shows that material from other parts of the *Urevangelium* is introduced by each evangelist into his account of the great eschatological discourse just before the last passover. Dr Resch therefore undertakes a threefold task—(1) to eliminate the material which did not originally belong to the Discourse—with Luke as leader; (2) to present from the three Synoptists the discourse in its original entirety; and (3) to gather from extra-synoptic sources, sayings which, in our author's judgment, originally belonged to the Discourse (pp. 571-2). Luke xxi. 8-36, with its synoptic parallels, was designed to answer a *double* question, proposed to our Lord by the disciples, which is preserved in Matthew, Mark, but obscured in Luke: "When shall these things be? (*i.e.* the destruction of the Temple), *and* what is the sign of Thy coming, and the consummation of the æon?" The reply made by our Lord recognises the twofoldness of the question, though probably the disciples themselves conceived of the catastrophe at Jerusalem and the Parousia as coincident. This is clearly to be seen from Luke xxi. 24, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." This is not found in Matthew or Mark, but Resch contends for its originality, and regards the εὐθέως of Matt. xxiv. 29 as unauthentic. The genuineness of καιροὶ ἐθνῶν is attested by Rev. xi. 2, xii. 14, and by Rom. x. 11, xi. 25. Our Lord thus clearly recognized an intermediate period between the fall of Jerusalem and the Parousia: but whether, as filling in this period, our Lord on this occasion foretold the coming of "schisms and heresies" (1 Cor. xi. 19), of wolves in sheep's clothing (Matt. vii. 15), and of the Man of Sin (2 Thess. ii. 3 *ff*), may reasonably be doubted. A revised version of the whole discourse is given on pages 607-10.

3. As to the Lord's Supper, Dr Resch makes a valuable contribution in reference to the date of its occurrence; and decides that it must have been the evening before the Passover, and that the crucifixion was the antitype of the slaying of the Paschal Lamb, and took place at the same time. If the Lord's Supper took place when the rest of the Jews were eating the Passover, then Jesus was

crucified on the first and great day of the feast; and though some expressions in the Synoptists identify the Supper with the Passover, there are others in which they clearly imply that Christ was not crucified on a Feast-day (pages 613-8). Further, Luke mentions two cups over which Jesus gives thanks. As to the first cup, Resch adopts the reading of Syr-Sin in Luke xxii. 17, *μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι ἐδέξατο ποτήριον*—making this the last cup of the ordinary paschal meal. When the ordinary paschal meal was quite over, then came the new ordinance to commemorate the new covenant. With regard to the words spoken by Christ on this occasion, Dr Resch despairs of tracing the divergent accounts of Matthew and Mark on the one hand, and of Luke and 1 Cor. xi. on the other, to a common "source": but he ascribes to Jewish sympathies the omission of the word "new" in Matthew and Mark before "covenant." This "tendency" is still more marked in Codex Bezae, which omits the second cup in Luke xxii. 20, and respecting the bread merely says, "This is my body": while in the Didaché all mention of the atoning death of Christ is omitted in the words used at the Eucharist (pp. 628-38). Dr Resch controverts Prof. Harnack's thesis that water was extensively used instead of wine at the Eucharist, showing rather that water was often mixed with the wine (p. 648). He considers 1 Cor. xi. 26 a genuine logion, though only preserved in this Epistle. He does not regard it as merely an observation of the apostle's.

4. In commenting on the passages which refer to Christ's trial and death, Dr Resch insists that five accusations were made against Christ at Pilate's bar. Three only are mentioned in our Gospels, but two others, extra-canonical, are held to be equally genuine. They are these—(1) perverting the nation, Luke, Marcion; (2) destroying the law and the prophets, Marcion, *Cod. Colb.*, *Acta Pilati*; (3) forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, Luke, Marcion; perverting the women and children, *Cod. Colb.*, Marcion; (5) saying that he himself is Christ the King, Luke. As to the drink which was given to our Lord on the cross there are five variants—*οἶνος ἐσμυρισμένος* in Mark xv. 23; *οἶνος μετὰ χολῆς*, Matt. xxvii. 34; *ὄξος*, Luke xxiii. 36; *ὄξος μετὰ σμύρνης*, Syr-jer to John xix. 29; *ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς*, Barnabas vii. 5. The confusion of "myrrh" and "gall" is doubtless due to מֹר = myrrh, and מָרָא = gall, either in Hebrew or in Aramaic.

5. In the narratives of the Resurrection Dr Resch is perplexed with *ὀψὲ σαββάτων* in Matt. xxviii. 1, and votes it an impossible reading. He maintains that the *Γαλιλαία* of Matt. xxviii. 7 was not the northern province but *ἡ περίχωρος* = גְּלִילָה of Jerusalem, the Mount of Olives; and that it was there that Christ

was seen of 500 brethren at once. He has not seen Dr Chase's explanation of *ουλαμμαους* for "Emmaus" in Codex Bezae, *Syro-Latin Text*, p. 109. Several years ago, in collecting the eccentricities of this Codex, I noted, as Dr Chase has done, that the peculiar word before us is due to reading Lomadh for Ee in a Syrian codex (p. 769). On five occasions, in speaking of the two men that were walking to Emmaus, Origen calls them Simon and Clopas. This identification certainly arose from a possible interpretation of Luke xxiv. 33-4 with the alteration of one letter. "They returned . . . and found the eleven assembled, . . . saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon." Who said this? If we read *λέγοντας*, it was the eleven. If *λέγοντες*, it was the two arriving visitors; and if they reported, "The Lord hath appeared to Simon," then Simon was one of the two. Resch defends this interpretation and Origen's inference. In Luke xxiv. 25 our author prefers the reading of Syr-cur and Marcion, "O fools and slow of heart in believing all that *He* spake (*ἐλάλησεν*) to you," and sees in the connection of "suffering" and "glory" in Luke xxiv. 27 an indication of the deep influence which was produced on Simon's mind by Christ's discourse, and which comes out in 1 Peter i. 11, "the spirit of Christ testified beforehand the sufferings which were (in store) for Christ, and the glory that should be afterwards." The *five* appearances of the risen Lord referred to in 1 Cor. xv. Resch identifies as follows. The first, "to Cephas," is the visit to Emmaus. The second, "to the Twelve," is the event narrated in Luke xxiv. 36-43. The third, "to above five hundred brethren at once," is identified with Luke xxiv. 50, 51, immediately before the Ascension. "Then," fourthly, "he was seen of James." This, by an intricate process of reasoning, is claimed to refer to Thomas (John xx). The word Thomas means "twin," and was used of either of two members in the apostolic band, who were twins. As the result of a comparison of many lists of the Apostles, Resch concludes that James, the (son) of Alphæus, and Judas (the brother) of James were twins, and were both known also as Thomas, the twin. The fifth appearance, "to all the apostles," is identified with Acts i. 4-11.

Having thus endeavoured briefly to direct the attention of Biblical scholars to the principal features of this truly valuable volume, I will repeat with additional emphasis the words with which I closed the review of the previous volume—that it is a work which will long be indispensable to the student of Textual Criticism and Ecclesiastical History.

J. T. MARSHALL.

Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels.

By the Rev. Paton J. Gloag, D.D., author of a Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, an Introduction to the Pauline Epistles, &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Demy 8vo, pp. xviii. 298. Price, 7s. 6d.

THIS book worthily crowns a series of volumes of Introduction to the New Testament which have occupied Dr Gloag for the past twenty-five years, and which reflect credit on the Biblical scholarship of Scotland. It is distinguished by the same merits as its predecessors—by wide reading, sober handling, and clear exposition. Dr Gloag candidly confesses that, in the course of studies extending over so many years, his views on not a few points have changed; but still more noteworthy is the distinct change of atmosphere from the time when the earlier volumes were written under the stress of the Tübingen theory, and when the rights of criticism were doubtfully acknowledged, to this closing volume in which he claims to have exercised "strict impartiality and candour." Those who hold by a verbal inspiration may still be shocked by discussions on authorship, sources, mutual relations, etc., but scholarship is not now hampered as it was a quarter of a century ago.

There may be disappointment to some in finding that this new volume on the great question of New Testament criticism does not profess to furnish any complete solution; but the book is not so much an original study as an introduction to the question. From this latter point of view, it has exceptional value. So much has been done in recent years on various lines, that a volume of this kind, compact, judicious, bringing the discussion down to the magazine articles of 1895, was greatly needed; and it may be warmly commended alike to those who are beginning the study of the subject, and to those who have not been able to keep themselves abreast of its later developments.

The book is carefully planned, so as to cover the whole ground. Its four sections deal with "General Introduction" and the three Gospels in turn, each section taking up the questions of genuineness, authorship, sources, design, language, integrity, time, place and contents. For a complete harmony of the Gospels, reference is made to the many already in existence; but due attention is drawn to the threefold narrative, the twofold narrative, and the sections in which the three Gospels are independent of each other. An interesting feature will be found in the discussions on the exegetical or textual difficulties presented by such passages as Matt. ii. 15, "Out of Egypt have I called My Son"; Matt. ii. 23, "He shall be called a Nazarene"; Luke ii. 14; Luke xxii. 42-44; Mark xvi.

9-20. There are also lengthy dissertations on the Census of Quirinius and the Genealogies of our Lord. On this latter question, Dr Gloag's opinion is that in St Matthew's Gospel we have the genealogy of Joseph, and in St Luke's that of Heli or Mary. Has he noted, among recent discussions, the very careful Appendix C. of Père Didon's "Jésus Christ," in which the close relationship between Joseph and Mary, asserted by Irenaeus, Tertullian, and later Fathers is accepted? Didon's conclusion is: "A ce titre on peut dire que l'une est la généalogie naturelle de Joseph, l'autre sa généalogie légale; mais que l'une et l'autre sont la généalogie naturelle et légale, tout à la fois, de Marie et de Jésus."

Many will turn with interest to pp. 187-202, where, after a review of the arguments for and against, Dr Gloag, evidently attaching great weight to the recently-discovered use of the passage in Tatian's Diatessaron, sums up in favour of regarding the last twelve verses of St Mark as an original and integral part of that Gospel.

On the main problem of the Synoptic Gospels, that of their origin and mutual relations, an excellent digest of the theories advanced from Eichhorn down to the present day will be found on pp. 22-71. The handling is perhaps lacking in the firmness which the advocate of a particular theory would have shown; and indeed the abundance of ingenious and plausible suggestions has grown somewhat bewildering. The summing up, however, on pp. 66 ff. is both judicious and instructive. When will the last word be said on a series of facts which must have puzzled Tatian, the first harmonist, and puzzles scholars still? These facts in sum are, that there are four accounts of the life and ministry of Jesus Christ, all fragmentary, incomplete, and in great measure without chronological sequence; that three of these go over much the same ground, using at times language practically identical; that the same three have also sections independent and divergences of expression which make it difficult at certain points to combine their narratives into one. How are these facts to be accounted for? The information external to the Gospels is so slight, as to complicate rather than simplify the problem; and the testimony furnished by the Gospels themselves has been made to support a multiplicity of theories. Oral tradition there must have been at first; in the circumstances, such tradition would crystallise into definite form, and quite possibly into cycles of narrative for the instruction of converts. The change to documentary records is only a step, and the emergence of one or more lengthy compilations presents no difficulty. Looking alike to the probabilities of the case and to the facts furnished by the internal evidence, most scholars are now agreed, that the three Synoptic Gospels were based on two lengthy documentary records, that their narrative was supplemented from other documentary sources and

that some material as well as verbal colouring was derived direct from oral tradition.

But how to disentangle the various elements, and how to define precisely the relations of dependence or independence among the Gospels, is the perplexity of Biblical scholars. There are still lines, however, along which further investigation might gather contributions to a final solution. Thus the relation of the first Three Gospels to the Fourth in their selection of subject-matter has been strangely left out of consideration. A careful study of the order of the respective narratives might determine one or two points; it is curious that, with the exception of three breaks which admit of ready explanation, the order in St Mark only departs from that of St Matthew to agree with that of St Luke; it is never independent. An exact determination of the amount of verbal agreement where the narrative is threefold and where it is twofold might fix more clearly certain mutual relations. A study of the verbal divergences in the common narratives would show the possible influence exercised by the mental characteristics and doctrinal position of the writers. Did not Dr Sanday also suggest once that some divergences, at least in verbal expression, might be due to the inexactitude of early copyists? As likely, however, as any means of solving the problem would be the discovery of some MS. of the apostolic or sub-apostolic age. Meantime the problem fascinates and baffles.

DAVID HUNTER.

Homiletik.

Vorlesungen von D. Th. Christlieb, weil. Ord. Professor der Theologie und Universitätsprediger in Bonn. Herausgegeben von Th. Haarbeck. Basel: Jaeger & Kober. Pp. viii. 356. Price, M.4.

THIS volume contains the course of lectures on Homiletic delivered by the late Professor Christlieb during his twenty-one years' tenure of the chair of Pastoral Theology in the Protestant Faculty at Bonn. The lectures have been carefully edited by the Rev. Th. Haarbeck, under whose superintendence the "Johanneum," or School for the Training of Evangelists, founded by Christlieb shortly before his too early death, has continued to prosper. The editor's task has not been easy. Christlieb followed the usual German method of dictating a brief sketch of his lecture, to be afterwards extended in free discourse. In some cases the latter part, which of course forms the greater part of the lecture, exists only in notes. Then, although the lectures have continued in the main as originally written, numerous

marginal notes bear testimony to unceasing efforts to enrich and improve them, and these notes have had to be incorporated by the editor. At the best, Christlieb's style is far from being easy and graceful; in some of these lectures as here published it is peculiarly involved. But there is no difficulty or uncertainty as to his conception of Homiletics. He utterly refuses to restrict the term to "preaching to believers." He thinks that Schleiermacher, by emphasising the distinction between *Mission* and *Cultus*, and making preaching a part of worship in which the believer finds his faith expressed, his emotions stirred, and therefore is edified, has failed to take note of fundamental facts as to the constitution of existing congregations. Christlieb rightly emphasises the mixed character of ordinary congregations. With special reference to the state of matters in Germany, he says that even among members of the Church some never had faith, some have lost it, and some are in danger of losing it. The preacher must have regard to all these as well as to the believer who is to be edified. Preaching must be more than mere *cultus*: it must include a *mission* element, at least to the extent of being evangelistic. "Every pastor must be an evangelist." Christlieb, however, would not include in Homiletic the discussion of missionary methods in the full sense of that term. He is no doubt right in thinking that, in view of the tremendous difference between the presuppositions of the heathen and those of the unconverted in Christian communities, it is impossible with any advantage to combine the consideration of the two kinds of work. And yet the state of affairs in many parts of Christendom suggests a grave doubt whether the distinction has not been too rigidly insisted on. The work of the Christian preacher, according to Christlieb, is "to direct the world to the way of blessedness, to call the unconverted to repentance, and to confirm believers in their faith." Neither *κηρύσσειν*, nor *διδάσκειν*, nor *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* gives a full account of it; all three must be combined with or in *μαρτυρεῖν*. The preacher is no mere orator or teacher, though he may and ought to use for his purpose any rhetorical or didactic skill he may have. He is above all a witness; he speaks from personal knowledge and experience; the essence of his work is *martyretic*. All these and other points which need not be specifically mentioned are fully discussed in the *prolegomena* and Chapter I. Manifestly Christlieb's views as to the essential character and purpose of preaching are much nearer those that prevail among us than the views usually to be found in German manuals on Practical Theology. Probably this is due in part to his seven years' pastorate in London, and his consequent familiarity with English methods and manuals. The remaining three chapters of the book are devoted respectively to the personal qualifications of the preacher, the subject-matter of preaching, and the form and delivery of the

discourse. It is unnecessary to follow these in any detail. They prove abundantly what we know otherwise, that Christlieb was "a man of the Bible and of practical life." He is decidedly conservative, but he is not one of those who can find the Gospel in every text or even in every book of Scripture. The preacher ought to have regard to the needs of his hearers, and he must ever be faithful to the fundamental articles of the faith, but he is not at liberty to make any application of a text which is not based on sound exegesis. Christlieb applies this principle to the topical as well as to the expository discourse. He objects to very short texts, because they are apt to need pressing or eking out; and he objects to very big texts, because they cannot be fully dealt with, and are apt to cause confusion. The two great virtues in dealing with a text are, to be faithful to it and to exhaust it. As to the length of discourses, Germans might put up with half an hour or even an hour, and "to a Scotsman an hour and a half is in many cases even yet not too long," but Christlieb commends Luther's rule: "Begin sharp, speak out, stop soon." The method of delivering discourses is determined very summarily. "Reading" is the English method, and many English preachers read so well that their hearers hardly note the difference between it and free delivery. But in Germany "reading" can be recognised only as an exception, and that too only in the case of those who are aged and whose memory has failed. "Preaching is an act, a free personal action, a testimony from the heart, not a reading which changes public worship into a prelection, and puts a sheet of paper as a wall of partition between speaker and hearer." These lectures are an interesting variation in the somewhat prosaic uniformity of German manuals on Homiletic. But they are also valuable for fulness of learning and thoroughness of discussion and suitability for practical purposes. And to many not the least of their recommendations is the fact that they give within moderate compass a reasoned statement of the principles which enabled the lamented author to make so deep a mark as a Court and University preacher and as a Christian worker. JAMES ROBERTSON.

The Christian Doctrine of Immortality.

By Stewart D. F. Salmond, M.A., D.D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 703. Price, 14s.

UPON the author's aim let three things be said. First, the philosophical standpoint is expressly excluded. Thus the wide range of Natural Theology, so-called, is put aside. For there are rational

proofs of a future existence, such as are met with in Augustine's *De Immortalitate Animæ*, and in Fénelon's *Letters*, and in Bishop Butler's famous *Analogy;* and there are scientific arguments for a future life, such as made *The Unseen Universe* so fascinating; and there are grounds for a belief in the future based upon such instincts and longings as are given in Garrett Horder's *Intimations of Immortality.* And a large literature has gathered round these "natural" and "philosophical" arguments, Ezra Abbott, in his *Literature of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, giving more than seven hundred titles devoted to this branch of the subject. But this aspect of the theme, the philosophical speculations derived from physical science, from psychology, from ethics, and from general analogy, forms no part of Dr Salmond's treatment. Secondly, in speaking of "the Doctrine of Immortality," the phrase is used, in a wide sense, to include the main problems of the Doctrine of the Last Things. Thirdly, the stress is laid throughout upon the teaching of the Bible. The book is pre-eminently a study in Biblical Theology. When ethnic traditions are considered, they are simply adduced to emphasize the originality and character of the Biblical positions. Doctrinal conclusions, again, are arrived at solely on Biblical lines. "The present inquiry," says Professor Salmond, "limits itself to the question, What is the witness of Scripture on the subject: the words of Christ are to me the highest authority, beyond which I seek no other." This large volume, then, a fuller statement of the thirteenth series of the Cunningham Lectures, is principally a Biblical, and incidentally an Ethnic and Dogmatic, study of Eschatology.

Such is the author's expressed aim. And the aim has been ably carried out, with full knowledge of the latest literature, with calm and balanced judgment, and with an admirable patience. Upon its subject the book steps at once into the first rank, and even into the first place. Everywhere it shows that *distinction* which is the mark of greatness.

The volume contains six Books, an Appendix, and Indexes. The First Book treats of the Ethnic Preparation, in seven chapters, dealing successively with Savage, Indian, Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, and Greek beliefs in a future life. The Second Book, the Old Testament Preparation, considers, in five chapters, the negative aspect of the question (what the Old Testament does not say, that is); the positive aspect (what the Old Testament does teach); the distinctive notes of the Old Testament teaching; the special doctrine of the Poetical Books; and the doctrine of the Prophets. The Third Book gives Christ's Teaching, in six chapters, which successively grapple with our Lord's teaching on His Second Coming, the Last Judgment, the Great Resurrection, the Inter-

mediate State, and the Final Destinies. In the Fourth Book, containing three chapters, the teaching of the Apocryphal literature, of James and Jude, of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of the Apocalypse, and of Peter and John, are dealt with. The Pauline Doctrine occupies the Fifth Book, in three chapters. In the Sixth Book the Doctrinal Conclusions are drawn. This last book has four chapters, headed—"The Contribution of Christianity to the Hope of Immortality," "Doctrines of Annihilation and Conditional Immortality," "Restorationism and Allied Doctrines," "The Alternative Doctrine." The general conclusion of the whole study may be expressed in the author's own words as follows:—"The result has been to confirm me in the conviction that the teaching of Christ and the whole burden of the Christian Revelation make the present life decisive for the future." Be it observed, however, that the author adds—"This result has not been reached without an acute sense of the attractiveness of other views of man's destiny which are held by many earnest men, and of the limitations which the God of Revelation has placed upon our knowledge of the future life." In the Notes of the Appendix some interesting points in ethnic and Biblical religion are dealt with, such as the reference to the religion of Egypt in the recently discovered *Apology of Aristides*, and the doctrine of the soul's pre-existence as found in the *Wisdom of Solomon*.

Completely satisfactory views upon the Ethnic Doctrine of Immortality cannot be at present reached, possibly they never can be reached. The reasons are twofold. On the one hand, if the present condition of the *Naturvölker* permit us, after great industry and circumspection, to gather the opinions current amongst them, it is next to impossible, in the absence of written records, to penetrate to the origins of their beliefs, customs, and traditions. On the other hand, almost equal difficulties beset the discovery of the origins of the great historical faiths, seeing that these beginnings also are prior to the extant records, albeit some interesting stories of the earliest times are fossilized in the strata of language. Hence it is as dangerous as tempting to state what must have been if any rigid theory of evolution be accepted. Nevertheless, Dr Salmond's chapters on the Ethnic Doctrine of Immortality, being carefully done according to the light of the best present knowledge, are well worth attentive reading. The questions especially elucidated are, first, as to how far the mind of man had advanced towards a doctrine of immortality apart from Judaism and Christianity; and second, as to what advance is made in Judaism and Christianity beyond the Ethnic doctrine. The numerous facts so lucidly marshalled cannot be recited here: the conclusions arrived at may be recapitulated.

These conclusions are, in the main, threefold. The first is that, as far back as we can penetrate, there is a testimony of the heart to a belief in a future life, the evidence being clear as to an instinctive faith in some sort of future existence, witness especially the earliest Vedas of India, the most ancient records of the Nile Valley, and the Accadian traditions of Babylonia. The second conclusion is that from remote times, and even amongst rude peoples, there has been a testimony of the intellect to a future life; for constant attempts have been made to conceive the state of the dead in their supramundane home, and thus by speculation to sustain the prophetic voice of the human heart, witness especially the remarkable developments of the Hindu and Greek faiths. The third conclusion is that there has also been a testimony of conscience to a future life, inasmuch as rudimentary convictions concerning rewards and punishments in the worlds to come are discoverable at a comparatively early period, as in the religion of Egypt, and also inasmuch as beliefs of some purity, definiteness, and continuity showed themselves at a later date. Interesting, however, as these conclusions are, and sure as is the evidence afforded of a co-operation of the intuitive, rational, and ethical faculties in the framing of a working belief in a future life, that belief at best was vague, uncertain, largely contradictory, and widely incredible.

From the Ethnic preparation for the Christian doctrine of Immortality our author passes to the Hebrew preparation. From the contribution of sentiment and reason, that is to say, he advances to the contribution of experience and inspiration. In this Old Testament preparation an interesting examination is first given of the ideas which are foreign to the Old Testament (common as they were in the Ethnic Faiths), such as Final Extinction, Absorption into the All, Metempsychosis, the Pre-existence of Souls, the Eternity and the Essential Evil of Matter. Thus it is clearly shown that from the outset the Old Testament presents an independent view of the future, "equally free from the gross and extraordinary ideas with which the hope of an after-existence was overlaid in some races, and from the refinements of philosophy by which it was vitiated in others." Next follows, as interesting an examination of those great fundamental postulates of the Old Testament which could not but affect the evolution of the doctrine taught therein, by providing a distinct, simple and intelligible *analogia fidei*, namely, the doctrine of God, monotheistic and ethical, and the doctrine of man, his origin, constitution and destiny. Here come in invaluable studies of the Old Testament conceptions of "life," and "death," and "Sheol." In the next place, the distinctive note of the Old Testament preparation is emphasized, viz., that "the Old Testament

view of the future had that at its foundation which the Ethnic beliefs had not, and that the light which was in it, unsteady as it was at first, and shadowed even to darkness, moved on in a course of enlargement and advance towards the perfect day." The growth of the presentiment of immortality, and thus the persistent transcending of ethnic conceptions, throughout the Poetical Books, especially the Psalms and Job, and the gradual growth of a more positive belief in a future resurrection and judgment throughout the Prophetical Books, with their suggestive Messianic hopes of a coming king and a coming kingdom, are carefully traced. Further, attention is called to the necessary limitations of this Old Testament preparation. "The Old Testament knew not the place which Christ went to prepare. The things which are unseen and eternal, the inheritance of the saints in light, the transcending glory of the heaven to which Christ has risen, were not among its certainties. But God, His nearness, His fellowship, the joy of life and the highest weal in Him, were its first and most assured realities. In these is eternal life." One criticism I offer here, not without diffidence. Whilst in this Old Testament Preparation the facts and the implications of the Old Testament doctrine of God have been admirably drawn and insisted on, has similar weight been given to the facts and implications of the Old Testament doctrine of Man? For instance, has adequate emphasis been laid upon the inferences justly derivable from the Old Testament views of the dichotomy of man's nature, of the creation in the Divine image, and of man's conditional mortality? The last phrase is used deliberately. Controversy has familiarized us with the phrase "conditional immortality": but is not the Biblical postulate man's conditional *mortality*? Such a postulate meets us at the very outset of the Old Testament. Created in the image of God, death would only pass upon man if man disobeyed the Divine command; death, that is to say, was conditional upon sin. This view of man's original state seems to me to underlie, not only the religious teaching of Genesis, but the Old Testament doctrine of Death and Atonement, nay, the New Testament doctrine of Regeneration and Redemption. Now, if such a postulate does underlie the Old Testament teaching, then the Old Testament doctrine of man demands a more pronounced doctrine of immortality at the very initiation of human history than Dr Salmond paints. In depicting the evolution of any doctrine so much depends on the relative fulness of the revelation given in the initial stages.

The Book on Christ's Teaching seems to me the freshest and most masterly of the whole investigation. The reserve which characterised that teaching, its originality, its practical relation to

present life and duty, its popular and untechnical expression, its minute connections with the Old Testament positions, its use of the current religious vocabulary, its subordination of the whole to the supreme idea of the Kingdom of God—all these features of our Lord's teaching are presented in a manner beyond praise. In my view there is nothing equal to it in theological literature. The subjects treated of—the Return of Jesus, the Intermediate State, the Resurrection, the Judgment, Heaven and Hell, are infinitely difficult; probably as yet no two inquirers would altogether agree upon results; my own opinion would differ from Dr Salmond's here and there, and especially upon the Intermediate State; still I can utter nothing but praise for the clearness, precision, conciseness, tone, scholarship, and unity of these chapters.

The same remarks seem to me to apply to the Book on the Apostolic Doctrine, including the thorny Millenarian question of the Apocalypse, and the Petrine references to the Spirits in Prison and the Preaching to the Dead; and also to apply to the Book on the Pauline Doctrine, including the long-standing problems concerning the Rapture of the Saints, the Man of Sin, and the Resurrection Body.

In the final Book—of Conclusions—a good summary of results is given (showing the trend of ethnic surmise, and the trend of Christian revelation), and then the three stupendous doctrines of Final Doom,—of Annihilation, of Restoration and of Continuous Retribution—are reviewed. In cautious language Dr Salmond declares for the last. "The doctrine," he says, "that man's immortality is determined by the spiritual attitude to which he commits himself here, that the moral decision made in the brief opportunity of this life is final, and that the condition consequent on it in the other world is one of eternal blessedness or the opposite, is a doctrine of almost overwhelming grandeur. It gives so incalculable a value to the short opportunity of the earthly existence, so measureless a dignity, so vast a power for good or for evil to man's nature, so limitless a sweep to the prerogative of will which makes his sovereignty. There is at least nothing small or fallacious in it. It is almost appalling in its magnitude. It answers best to the teaching of Scripture. With all its solemn import it is also truest to reason and to experience. To an extent which can be claimed for no other view of man's future, it grapples with the real problems of God's providence, the dark enigmas of life, and the mysteries of man's moral nature."

For some time my own convictions have been deepening that finality of opinion upon these awful and profound questions is not yet. The advance in mastery of any science, not excluding theology, is from the simpler doctrines to the more complex.

Until, therefore, more assured and detailed conclusions have been reached in the Doctrines of God and His Attributes, of Man and his nature, of Sin and its consequence, of Salvation and its corollaries, of the Church and its powers, of the Last Things and their order, I do not see how final conclusions can be come to upon the doctrine of the last of the Last Things. Perhaps, even, the reserve of our Lord and His Apostles has been of such a nature as to prevent definitive conclusions at any time, being sufficient for warning and encouragement, but inadequate for full doctrinal statement. If, however, as seems to me probable, the present diversity of view is temporary and not permanent, final conclusions will ultimately be arrived at, I suspect, as the closing effort of a Comparative Theology which has given due weight, upon the momentous subjects concerned, to all the declarations of philosophy, of the ethnic faiths, of the Bible, and of the History of Christian Doctrine. In the journey towards such a goal, this book of Dr Salmond's appears to me to mark an epoch. ALFRED CAVE.

Die Philosophie der Geschichte.

Von R. Rocholl. Zweiter Band. Der positive Aufbau. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. xvi, 612. *Price, M.* 12.

THIS, though a second volume, is complete in itself. It has three divisions, the first and third being concerned with the philosophical or formal notions of the subject, the second with the scientific construction of its material. The first volume, which appeared in 1878, was entirely critical. The positive result for the author is that he adopts, along with a certain attitude in philosophy, a "logic of history" which permits of his being freely eclectic in the formation of his own system. Indeed, though he is very decided in his selection of theories of language and race, there seems to be no reason why quite different theories should not equally well suit his logic. For that reason, and because the theories which he does adopt are mainly argued by quotations from authorities and with only minor criticisms, a reviewer's interest is in the first and third rather than in the second division. At the same time it has to be said that it is the second division that deserves by far the greatest praise. Though written in a manner which we associate with America rather than Germany, the extent and variety of reading and, more than anything, the arrangement of so much material into

a consecutive and readable story, easily secure a reader's admiration. To have put into 400 pages a sociology of the human race from the time of an ideal "first man" through the various aspects of his "fall" and restoration up to the present is a feat that must withstand every serious objection, if it is interesting as well as fairly general and coherent. The value of such an account in a philosophy of history is, however, as matter of illustration rather than of demonstration. The author claims it as an inductive argument justifying a hypothesis to the extent of making it no longer hypothetical. But what is essential in the hypothesis is really more certain than many of the scientific theories which are selected to support it. These are concerned with the state of things in perhistoric times,—more especially as regards a golden age of human language, religion, and consciousness generally.

The hypothesis by which Rocholl explains the progress of history and which is thereby deduced or justified is, to use his own term, the doctrine of "the church." The essential part of it is the existence of the universe for the sake of spirit, and the revelation of the ideal of history in the Son of God. In this way there is secured a measure for the causes of progress and decay. Man, the author says, consists of body, soul, and spirit. The first two are natural, the last super-natural. The history of man is the history of these three factors: that is to say, of his control over nature, of his intellectual and social relations, and of his relation to God. When any one of these factors is neglected, the others are liable not merely to arrest but to over-growth or disease. The proper ordination is that the interests of the body—all sorts of material interest—should subserve those of the soul, and both the spiritual or religious interest. And similarly in history. In short, the history of the world is to be explained in exactly the same way as the history of the individual. If there is plan in the development of an individual, and if consequently there are laws of his progress whose breach means decay, so there is plan and law in history. And yet as all men are different, having different themes to work out, so different nations have their own individualities, and their own themes.

There is nothing new or distinctive in this, and in one form or another it would be admitted by all. The argument is an analogical one, and it is perfectly admissible, for the simple reason that the factors are the same. The author declines any more drastic theories and readily admits the impossibility of answering the questions put by those who object to any philosophy of history. He argues only that there is a plan, that it is of the nature described, and that the phenomena which seem to oppose it are to be taken as only partially understood. Why there are countless uninhabited worlds, why enormous numbers of creatures are born to perish without a chance

of living, why there is stagnation in barbarism or Chinese harmony, why there is even retrogression,—to these questions the author declines to make any answer from the teleological point of view. But, arguing always in the same way, he insists that there are similar unknown depths and half-seen phenomena in the human mind without our denying, on their account, an ideal plan upon which it is constructed, which it has so far realised and which it may have so far sinned against. But he will not support any of the theories, usually suggested by the term "philosophy of history," objecting to their materialistic or pantheistic character. Apart from bringing his account into correspondence with the Biblical account and his view of the relative ordination of the factors of history into correspondence with the doctrine of the kingdom of God, he cannot be said to have placed himself with one theory more than another. The philosophical ground upon which he argues may be called Lotze's, but the exposition is more wordy and rhetorical than demonstrative. The most suggestive parts are connected with a variety of analogical arguments, and if these do not carry far they make for clearness and unity. In short, this is a book to which neither the historian nor the philosopher will be in haste to offer great praise, but philosophies of history are as a rule addressed rather to the general reader, and it would not be easy to mention another in which within the same compass there is such a variety of interest, and so much touched upon which might be followed up elsewhere. Finally, the style of the book is unusually light.

W. MITCHELL.

Hedonistic Theories: from Aristippus to Spencer.

By John Watson, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Queen's College, Kingston, Canada. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. Crown 8vo, pp. 248. Price, 6s. net.

PROFESSOR WATSON says that "What is here presented to the public has been in manuscript for several years, and I have been induced to publish it now as a needful supplement to the ethical part of my *Outline of Philosophy*." We are glad that he has been induced to publish this valuable work. It has a value as a historical and expository work, apart from the philosophical point of view from which he criticises the various theories of Hedonism. That point of view may itself be criticised, but whether we accept it or not, the worth of his historical exposition abides. We know nothing finer than the exposition of the "Influence of the Sophists on Greek philosophy." It makes the course of Greek thought of

Hedonism intelligible, even luminous. There is first a vivid picture of Greek life and thought, and a description of the influence which their civic conditions had on their morality and religion. "The form of religion was under the control of the people, and its acceptance or rejection was regarded as a part of their political function." The fact that Greece was a crowd of little city commonwealths, each independent of all the others, that the basis of each civic state was slavery, the proportion of slaves to citizens being so large that the Macedonian ascendancy had destroyed the basis of Greek society, these things are set forth with great lucidity, and their bearing on the development of Hedonism admirably shown. But the main impulse to Hedonistic thought arose from the fact that the Sophists called in question and denied the postulate which lay at the foundation of the Greek view of life. "They acted as a solvent of Greek thought by destroying men's faith in what had been accepted as a sort of divine revelation of what was right and just. The main idea common to them all was that customary morality was not absolute, but was a fair subject of discussion and criticism. The very simplicity of Greek thought made it peculiarly liable to scepticism the moment the sanction of a supposed divine authority was withdrawn from it."

The Sophists were so far cosmopolitan, they may have belonged to any of the cities of Greece, and they could not feel the power of those sanctions which an Athenian or a Spartan felt with regard to the laws and religion of their respective cities. "The Greek state could only survive so long as its citizens had implicit faith in their own as the only form of constitution." Having thus led us to understand the historical situation, Professor Watson traces with a firm hand the beginnings of sceptical thought, first generally, then with particular reference to Hedonism. We have a characteristic Hegelian touch in the statement of the Law of Progress, which is as follows: "1, Construction; 2, Destruction; 3, Reconstruction." On this we can only say that it is too delightfully easy and simple to represent adequately the manifold processes of this complex world. Accepting it provisionally, we find that it does so far enable us to understand the development of Greek thought. The Cyrenaics had a precise doctrine, and thus had made an advance on the Sophists, who had none. Aristippus held that life had only one end, namely, pleasure. He reduced all knowledge to feeling, and that the pleasure of the moment was the only end of life. From the rude simplicity of Aristippus, the incompetency and inadequacy of which is demonstrated in the criticism of Professor Watson, we pass to the more advanced stage of Hedonism represented by Epicurus. "The sole original contribution of Epicurus to the theory, the supposition that the atoms have a power of spontaneous deflection, is not

such as to call forth much respect for his scientific temper. In fact, so far from saying, with M. Renan, that Epicureanism was 'the great scientific school of antiquity,' we must say that the founder of the school was as unscientific as he was unspeculative. The basis of all science is the inviolability of natural law, and this very inviolability seemed to Epicurus to be even more objectionable than the supernatural interference with the course of nature, since the gods may be propitiated, while Fate or Necessity is deaf to the prayers of men. The atomic doctrine he therefore introduced merely to banish the gods from the sphere of human life." We may give the conclusion to which Professor Watson comes through his study of Epicurus: "Thus the selfish view of life which underlies the Epicurean doctrine leads to the destruction of moral law; just as the denial of purpose in nature has as its consequence the sovereignty of chance."

From Greece he passes to England, rather a great leap, and one not quite consistent with the promise of the title of the book. How are we to interpret it; as an assumption that there were no Hedonistic thinkers in the interval? or that they may be neglected? As a matter of fact, the advocates of Hedonism with which he deals are Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Bentham, John Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer. These are representative men and may be taken as typical thinkers who are in the English succession. But what of France, of Germany, and of international philosophy? Has there been no Hedonism beyond our borders? While we mildly protest against this neglect of foreign thinkers—thinkers, also, who have had a measurable influence on the development of English thought—we receive with gratitude the statements of the views of English Hedonists from Hobbes to Spencer. By the way, why is Sidgwick not here?

We are sorry that space forbids us to follow in detail the exposition and criticism of these successive thinkers. We can only say that the statement of their view is full, clear, adequate, and fair. It is a great boon to the student of ethics to have so masterly a sketch within his reach. For it will teach him much as to the process of ethical thought in England, it will also give him a splendid example of what a philosophic statement ought to be. One of the qualities to be praised in this book is the absolute clearness of statement, the limpid simplicity of style, and the perfect lucidity of his thought. He here deals with the highest topics which can occupy the human mind, and he has made them so plain and intelligible that the man in the street, if he only will give attention, can understand. This is one of the greatest feats ever accomplished by a philosopher. If we were asked what book on ethics we would put into the hands of a beginner

in philosophy, with the view not only of giving him knowledge which he could speedily assimilate, but also with the view of inspiring him with a desire of knowing all that can be known on it, we would choose this book above all others. It would give a beginner confidence in philosophy, would persuade him that philosophy can do something, that it can help to enlighten the intelligence and guide the life. This book helps a man to understand that philosophy is not a thing of the closet and of the chair, it is in most intimate relation with all human interests, and can help to make them all more intense, more real, and more worthy of a rational being. JAMES IVERACH.

The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages. Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other Original Sources.

From the German of Dr Ludwig Pastor, Professor of History in the University of Innsbrück. Edited by F. J. Antrobus, of the Oratory. London: Kegan Paul; Vol. III., pp. lviii. 424; Vol. IV., pp. xxv. 535. Price, 24s. net.

THE previous volumes of this translation were reviewed at some length in the *Critical Review* (Vol. II., p. 234). We were then compelled reluctantly to conclude that the expectations raised by the title-page were not borne out by the contents. "Either the Secret Archives of the Vatican contain nothing likely to modify to any serious extent the results already established for this period, or it is too soon by many years to begin to re-write history on the strength of their discovery."

The further instalment of Dr Pastor's history, contained in Vols. III. and IV., only confirms the opinion then expressed and defended. Those serious drawbacks, which seemed fatal to any claim even to stand alongside other works of established reputation, appear even more unmistakeably here. We drew attention to the unfortunate lack of proportion in the treatment of subjects of primary and of secondary inportance. That is still provokingly manifest, and it is accompanied by an inexplicable change in the perspective of the whole. The former volumes treated of the Popes and events of a hundred and fifty years (1305-1458). In the next two the same space is allotted to five-and-twenty years—the Pontificates of Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV. There is no discoverable reason for this change of scale. The former period included the Captivity of Avignon, The Great Schism, The Councils of Basel and Constance.

It presented the important figures of Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V. The latter period is marked by no great event, by no figures of the first rank. Yet the scale is suddenly enlarged six-fold. The new matter "drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican" may be somewhat more extensive than the trifling quantity found in the first two volumes. So far as can be judged from the notes and appendices, it is of no greater importance. Some new light may be shed on the details of Papal policy, but most of it falls on trivial matters of domestic life at the Vatican. Had Dr Pastor taken the obvious and desirable course of publishing first his new material, it would have been seen at a glance that it did not require a new history to incorporate it.

The earlier volumes were received in many quarters with such unstinted acclamation that we feel compelled to repeat the opinion that, apart from "new material," the book is one of small value. It shows neither width of grasp nor depth of insight. It is profoundly indifferent to the great moral and religious issues which were involved in the history. Dr Pastor seems to have no eye for the movements of thought which lie below the surface and predict the future. To him a Reformer (*e.g.*, Gregory Heimburg) is simply a nuisance, a self-willed and unprincipled disturber of the tranquillity of the Vatican. The Turkish question becomes little else than a thread on which to hang narratives of the visits of foreign potentates to Rome, and of the futile peregrinations of the Pope. Dr Pastor writes from the point of view of a Major Domo of the Vatican. He expatiates at portentous length on the details of each Papal election, the meals, costumes, and intrigues of the cardinals, the personal habits of each Pope, and the splendour of every ceremonial. And to make room for these trivialities such matters as the struggle with France over the Pragmatic Sanction, or the silent conflict between the monarchical theory of Councils to which the Popes clung, and the democratic theory represented by Heimburg and Sigismund, receive very inadequate treatment.

The book is free from any overt special pleading. The author chronicles the immoralities of one Pope and the treachery of another, and contents himself with emphasizing, on the other hand, their liberality or their scholarship. If the Roman Church claims to have its mediæval period judged by standards that are frankly Pagan, it must cease to claim unbroken continuity with the Apostles. The more it insists on that continuity as belonging to the *esse* of the Church, the more is it bound in all its representatives to judge that period, and the men who were part of it, from the standpoint of absolute righteousness.

As a gossipy chronicle of certain Popes who contributed little or

nothing to the development of the Church, these volumes may serve a purpose. But if they are put forward as serious or scientific history, they fail to stand the test either of comparison or of investigation.

Two minor points appear to be new or unfamiliar. The Turkish navy in 1470 was largely manned by *Jews* and Greeks, "who were then deemed the best seamen." In administering the Communion to Frederick III., "under the species of Bread only," Paul II. departed from the usual custom. When the Pope celebrated for laymen, it "was usual to give the Chalice in all such cases to those who communicated with him." C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

Lucius Annæus Seneca und das Christenthum in der tief gesunkenen antiken Weltzeit.

Von Michael Baumgarten, weil. Professor und Dr der Theologie. Nachgelassenes Werk. Rostock: Wilh. Werther's Verlag, 1895. 8*vo, pp. viii.* 368. *Price,* 6*s.*

THIS posthumous work of the late Professor Baumgarten labours under the disadvantage of not having received its author's own final revision. The present work only claims to be an excerpt from a much larger mass of material. This material had been corrected and revised by the author in 1887, but he does not seem to have intended to publish it as it stood. It is not only a study of Seneca's life and work, but of the whole spirit of the age in which he lived. It is marked throughout by a very earnest spirit, but one cannot help thinking that the author's standpoint is somewhat too rigid. Seneca is held up indeed as a type of the best which that age, lacking the spirit of Christianity, could produce, but his weaknesses are somewhat harshly judged. The highest point of Seneca's performance was, in the author's opinion, the constancy which he displayed at his death. This is faint praise—much like Hallam's apology for Cranmer, "His fame has brightened in the flames which consumed him." The first chapter contains a full account of the conflicting judgments which have been expressed as to Seneca from the time of his contemporaries to the present day. The critics have always been divided into two camps, those who honestly admired the man, and those who as heartily detested him. The one dark spot in Seneca's life is undoubtedly his apology in the Senate for the murder of Agrippina, which Gibbon (i. 230) justly contrasts with the opposite conduct of Papinian, who, when urged by Caracalla, after the murder of his brother, to offer a similar apology on his behalf, replied that it was "easier to commit than

to justify a parricide." Yet Tacitus does not go beyond remarking that Seneca's conduct in the matter brought him into ill odour. Seneca might have chosen death with honour by refusing to defend Nero, and if we judge him by our Christian standard, we certainly cannot but condemn him. But Baumgarten thinks he is self-condemned by his own insistence (in the De Irâ, *e.g.*), on the duty of never doing evil that good may come. Yet Seneca would probably have urged that he was laying down maxims for the conduct of individuals, and not for the conscience of statesmen. In that age political morality was at a very low ebb, and Seneca's moral principles would have been utterly impracticable in politics. What compromises public men have sometimes to make even now! It is hardly fair, then, to judge Seneca's action by his own standard of individual morality. From the political point of view, what good would it have done, had Seneca given up Nero after the murder of Agrippina? Tacitus remarks that Thrasea did not further the cause of liberty when he openly showed his disapproval of the compliance of Seneca by walking out of the Senate House. Hence it may fairly be inferred that he held that Seneca would not have furthered the cause of liberty by defying Nero. Other contemporary writers took a more sinister view, especially Dio Cassius; but even Niebuhr, who was no admirer of Seneca, admits that Dio's judgment is unfair and exaggerated. Mommsen also thought badly of Seneca. In fact, in reply to Baumgarten's request for an opinion, he wrote "one cannot think badly enough of him." With all respect to such deservedly high authorities, I venture still to preserve some veneration for Seneca's memory. Schiller compares him to a reed shaken by the wind in his alternate flattery and mockery of the Emperor Claudius. But here again his conduct is perfectly intelligible. Banished to the unhealthy island of Corsica, by well-timed flattery and the good offices of Agrippina he induced Claudius to recall him. Presently, when Claudius was dead, he wrote a lampoon on the deified Emperor ("Ludus de Morte Cæsaris"). After all this was only a bit of innocent fun. And as for the flattery, surely one does not need to have recourse to casuistry to make out a case for Seneca here. Is every man who pays a high-flown compliment to be accused of tampering with the truth?

More interesting perhaps to most readers is the question of Seneca's relation to Christianity. He was of course a contemporary of St Paul, but all are now agreed that the so-called "correspondence between St Paul and Seneca" is spurious. Baumgarten does not refer to Bishop Lightfoot's interesting essay on "St Paul and Seneca." The many striking parallels to Christian thought in Seneca's writings, which led Tertullian to speak of him as "sæpe noster," are possibly explained by the fact that Seneca was in the

habit of allowing his slaves to dine with him, and conversed freely with them. It is highly probable that through them he learned much of the tenets of Christianity. Certainly he deserves the title of a "Christian Pagan," which Sir Roger L'Estrange, author of an old book, "Seneca's Morals" (published in 1729), bestows upon him. After reviewing the various judgments of ancient and modern writers on Seneca, the author proceeds to contrast in the two following chapters the bright and dark sides of his character, of which I have already said enough. The rest of the book is only loosely connected with Seneca. In the fourth chapter the author describes with great learning the remarkable hold which the worship of the Emperors had on the popular mind. He considers this idolatrous worship of the creature, together with the "Baal-cultus" or false glamour which Pagan religion, and in particular the Phallic mysteries, threw round sensual vice, the two great "lies" with which Satan blinded the hearts of the Pagan world. This chapter is well worth reading. Chapters v., vi. and vii. describe the conflict between this corrupt spirit of the world and the spirit of Christianity, as displayed in the heroism of the martyrs, and the final victory of the Christians at the publication of the Edict of Milan, 313 A.D. (ut daremus et Christianis et omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset, &c., see p. 347). This conflict the author represents as a conflict between Christ and Cæsar. The last of the pagan Cæsars, Diocletian, appears to have been imbued with a fanatical belief in his own divinity, which accounts for the virulence of his persecution. Its failure to shake the strength of Christianity probably convinced him that there was another Power more truly divine than himself. The popularity of Cæsar worship at the time of the rise of Christianity is a striking phenomenon. It reveals a true instinct of religion in the hearts of the people, misdirected until at last it found its satisfaction, not in the worship of Cæsar, but in the worship of Christ. This is one of the central ideas of the book, and so the last chapter is fitly headed "Cæsar—Christus."

J. H. WILKINSON.

The Two St Johns of the New Testament.

By James Stalker, D.D. London: Isbister & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 285. *Price,* 6*s.*

Die Nachfolge Christi und die Predigt der Gegenwart.

Von Johannes Weiss, a.o. Professor der Theologie in Göttingen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895. *Pp.* 183. *Price,* M.3.

Dr Stalker's book is introduced to us with a sentence from Mr Jameson's Sacred and Legendary art:—"In devotional pictures we often see St John the Evangelist and St John the Baptist standing together, one on each side of Christ." The study of John the Apostle, which occupies the first and larger half of the book (pp. 1-185) appeared in *Good Words* for 1895, and for Sunday reading nothing could be more admirable than these twelve short, vigorous chapters. Dr Stalker has not brought forth from his treasury many things that are new, but the old facts and the familiar lessons are stated with practical force, and with that deftness of expression of which Dr Stalker is an acknowledged master. Perhaps the book is too full of lessons. Even children of a larger growth do not take quite kindly to stories with morals, and the author's endeavour "to sink his mind into the fragments of biography supplied in the Gospels, and feel for the character behind," would have been more successful, from the reader's point of view, if suitable moral reflections had been inserted with a more sparing hand. At the same time, these reflections are for the most part so pointed and profitable that it is not difficult to forgive the preacher and to listen in meekness. An example may be given of the skill with which Dr Stalker applies the facts of John's life to the needs of to-day. Speaking of the commission to John and his brother apostles to heal sicknesses and cast out devils, he remarks that "the spirit of this direction is applicable to all times. When we send out medical along with preaching missionaries, when nurses are trained to be servants of the Church, when hospitals are opened by Christian liberality, when alms are given to the poor, when, in connection with churches and missions, wholesome recreation is provided for mind and body, we are following this indication of the mind of Christ." The twelve chapters are entitled:—The disciple whom Jesus loved, His first meeting with Jesus, At home, One of the Twelve, One of the Three, His besetting sin, The disciple who loved Jesus, St John and the Resurrection, At home again, In the Pentecostal Age, In

Patmos, His writings. Naturally no attempt is made to discuss the critical questions connected with the Johannine writings; but Dr Stalker endeavours to set before us a conception of the apostle that shall fit equally well the author of the Fourth Gospel and the writer of the Apocalypse. The Apocalypse, he maintains, is undoubtedly the first of St John's writings; the book itself gives an account of the Apostle's call to the work of authorship. The Gospel was written a whole generation later. A prolonged residence in Ephesus had improved John's knowledge of the Greek language, and the fall of Jerusalem had created something like a revolution in his mind. "In the book of Revelation he is still entangled in Jewish imagery, hopes, claims, and modes of thought, but in the Gospel he has moved out into the wide and sunny ocean of humanity." Moreover, as Plato idealised his master, being conscious that his own thoughts were legitimate developments from those of Socrates, so perhaps to some extent the same may have been the case with John; but if so, "the freedom with which he acted was due to the certainty of his own inspiration. In His lifetime Jesus had said, When He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth, and St John was so satisfied that in his own experience this had been fulfilled, that he could freely give the sense of his Master without painful scrupulosity about its form."

The study of the Baptist (pp. 189-285) is similar in character and aim to the longer study of the Apostle. There is the same blend of vigorous description and pointed exhortation. An interesting chapter on the baptism of our Lord is an expansion for practical purposes of what is put so tersely and well in the author's short "Life of Christ." John's testimony to Jesus, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," is discussed both in the second half of the volume and in the first; the chief views are effectively stated, and a brave effort is made to combine them all. One wonders whether the secret of this remarkable utterance might be sought in the personal intercourse which John would enjoy with Jesus on the evening after His baptism.

Professor Weiss has published, in very much extended form, a lecture delivered to the "Wissenschaftlicher Predigerverein" in Hanover. A whole-hearted believer in the theology of Ritschl, he reviews, from the standpoint of that theology, the essential elements of the Christian faith, with the view of discovering how best to preach Christ to the many who are estranged from supernatural religion. In the first part (pp. 1-101), which is described as historical, the endeavour is made, by means of a very careful if

somewhat arbitrary examination of the Synoptics, the Fourth Gospel, and the other New Testament writings, to ascertain what was meant by being "a disciple of Jesus" during Jesus' earthly life, and what was meant by "believing on Jesus as Lord" after His death and resurrection. The second or dogmatic part (pp. 102-183) treats the question, how far at the present day our Christian life depends for its existence and advancement upon a personal relation to the living Christ. The most interesting section of an interesting book is where Prof. Weiss discusses the views on this subject of Ritschl, Hermann, and Kaftan. His practical conclusion is that we are justified in asking from the unbelieving world of to-day a minimum rather than a maximum of faith. "Die Nachfolge Christi" is to be the burden of modern evangelism. If a man is willing to do the will of Christ, then, whatever be his difficulties about Christian dogma, and however far at first he may come short of the primitive Christian faith, let him be welcomed as a member of Christ's spiritual body and assured of the love of God. At the door of the Church of Christ, the Apostles' Creed must give place to a simple vow of allegiance. ROBERT A. LENDRUM.

John Knox: A Biography.

By P. Hume Brown, author of "The Life of George Buchanan." In two volumes. London: Adam & Charles Black. Demy 8vo, pp. xx. 358, *xii.* 336. *Price,* 24*s.*

John Knox als Kerkhervormer.

Door P. J. Kromsigt, Predikant te Scherpenisse. Utrecht: A. H. Ten Bokkel Huinink. Demy 8*vo, pp. xii.* 360.

JOHN KNOX, the man to whom Scotland owes more than even Germany does to Luther, looked to the future for his vindication. The times of change and hot and strenuous conflict in which he was called to play the foremost part, were not times favourable to just judgments of any of the prominent actors in the struggle of the nation between things old and things new, and least of all of him who was the central figure and most commanding personality. Nor did the Reformer's appeal to the calmer and more adequate verdict of a later generation find a very prompt reply. For two centuries and a half he remained without the fairer and larger recognition which he anticipated, not wholly understood even by those who were most grateful to him for his work, and miserably misjudged by others.

It is in our own century that his vindication has come, and it has come with power and from several very different sides. Literary men like Carlyle, Froude, and Louis Stevenson have joined in it with M'Crie and the theologians. Men of other nations than our own have taken an important part in it. There have been of late, too, many tokens, some of them of a very remarkable kind, of a fresh rush of interest in all that relates to Knox. Among other additions to the growing literature on the Reformer and his work we have had quite recently such books as Mr G. Barnett Smith's *John Knox and the Scottish Reformation*, and the attractive and appreciative *Life of John Knox* contributed by Mrs Florence A. Maccunn to the series of *English Leaders of Religion*. Holland has also made its contribution, one of a suggestive and interesting kind. Mr Kromsigt's book is an able and somewhat elaborate study, exhibiting a gratifying and most creditable acquaintance with the whole Reformation movement in Scotland. With much fulness and in a pleasing style it goes over the events in Knox's career, the various stages in the conflict between the old Romish faith and the new Protestantism, and the difficulties and complications with Mary and the barons and Elizabeth. In the closing chapter Knox's theological position is reviewed, and some of the things which distinguished him from the other great Reformers are noticed. His doctrine of the Word of God is carefully compared with that of Luther, and also with that of Calvin. His idea of the Church, his conception of the relations between the Church and the State, his views of the Sacraments, of ordinances, of the rights of the people, are also briefly stated and intelligently examined. Mr Kromsigt closes his interesting and judicious study of the great Scottish Churchman by accepting Mr Froude's estimate of him, as "the one man without whom Scotland, as the modern world has known it, would have had no existence."

Mr Hume Brown's work, however, is of a far higher order. It is a work of original research, which makes considerable additions to our knowledge of Knox and his times. It is by far the most important contribution that has been made to the subject since the publication of M'Crie's *Life of John Knox*. M'Crie's book is the classical book, and is likely long to remain such. But Mr Hume Brown has had materials to work upon which were not available in M'Crie's time. He has had the benefit of much that has been written on Humanism, on the condition of society and the state of learning in Scotland, on the relations of Scotland to England and to France, and on Scottish history generally. He has had the advantage of seeing the results of the inquiries made by the late Professor Lorimer and others into Knox's life in England, the connections he had with the English Court and with prominent men among

the English Clergy, and the influence he exercised upon the English Reformation. Above all, he has had access to important State Papers and to the collection of Knox's works so splendidly edited by Mr Laing. He has had an admirable preparation for this work in the studies of which the fruit appeared in his excellent *Life of George Buchanan*. He has made the best use of all his materials, new and old, and has been able at some points to correct M'Crie, at other points to supplement him. Mr Brown's *Biography*, therefore, will by no means supersede M'Crie's *Life* or take materially from its value. But it is its proper complement, and will rank as one of the two outstanding histories of the Scottish Reformer and the Scottish Reformation.

The opening chapter furnishes a good example of the thoroughness of Mr Hume Brown's work. He goes into a minute examination of the questions of Knox's birthplace and lineage. He disposes of the idea that the Reformer was descended from the Ranfurly family as a claim for which "no evidence has been produced that deserves serious consideration." He holds it probable that Knox was born in the parish of Morham, one piece of evidence in support of this being the fact that the churchyard of Norham was the burying place of the Knoxes; another, and one of more importance, being the statement in a charter dated 1598, that "William Knox in Morhame and Elizabeth Shortes, his wife, were infeft in subjects at Nungate of Haddington." The views which connect the birthplace with the Gifford-gate of Haddington, or with the village of Gifford, are shown to conflict with the facts that the gate was not in the estates of the Earls of Bothwell, and that the village was not in existence at the time in question. This is followed by a chapter of great interest on Knox's education and studies. A graphic account is given of the University of Glasgow and of John Major's teaching. A just contrast is drawn between Knox and Latimer, and some excellent things are said of the scholastic element in the Scottish Reformer, which marked him off somewhat sharply from the great Reformers of Germany, Switzerland, Geneva, and England. Mr Brown dwells upon the curious fact that, though he spoke often of the Schoolmen with the utmost contempt, and though the breach which he made with the ancient Church and all its ways was so complete, there remained more of the Schoolman and less of the Humanist in Knox than any other Reformer of the first rank. "Alike by the themes which he handled, and his manner of handling them," says Mr Brown, "Knox is essentially a Schoolman himself. Like them, he made of a religion a body of abstract dogmas, on which he exercised his intellect with the same keen regard to the traditional rules of dialectic." Mr Brown is rather in-

clined to exaggerate the importance of this as a peculiarity of Knox. He seems to us also at times to overstate the dialectical element in Knox, and to give a too limited view of some of his main doctrinal positions. In the case of Knox's doctrine of Predestination, for example, he connects it in Knox's thinking too exclusively with his idea of the one attribute of the Divine Omnipotence, while he brings out very clearly the central place which it had in his whole theological system. But apart from this, the case as regards Knox's relation to Scholasticism and his dialectial proclivities generally is substantially as Mr Brown so forcibly puts it.

All that concerns Knox's preparation for his work, his connections with Wishart and others, his life in St Andrews and in the galleys, his ministries in Berwick and Newcastle, his last years in England, his visits to Dieppe and Geneva, the Frankfort troubles, his relations with Calvin, Bullinger, and other Continental Reformers, the occasion and the effects of his *First Blast*, his visits to Forfarshire and Ayrshire, his appearances at Perth and Scone, his sermons, letters, and declarations at the crisis of the struggle, his debate with the Abbot of Crossraguel, his difficulties with the politicians, his controversy with Kircaldy of Grange, his connections with Moray, the circumstances of his last illness and death—this is all told in a way that makes us feel at every step that we are on sure ground.

Nowhere have we so complete and satisfactory an account of Knox's stay on the Continent, or of the extent to which his hand is discoverable in the English Reformation and in the origination of Puritanism. Mr Brown gives at length the story of Cranmer's insertion of the rubric which enjoined the posture of kneeling at the Lord's Supper into the Second Prayer Book, Knox's opposition, the impression produced by his sermon on the subject, the Order of Council to the printer to "stay in anywise from altering any of the book of the new service . . . until certain faults therein be corrected," and the practical triumph of Knox in the issue of a further Order which, while retaining the offending paragraph, appended the declaration, known as the Black Rubric, which was definite enough to remove the scruples that were shared by the Scottish Reformer with Englishmen like Hooper, and foreigners like A Lasco. He traces Knox's influence on the formularies of the Church of England further than this. When the series of Articles of the new faith, which Cranmer had had in preparation since 1549, were submitted to the King and the Council in 1552, they were referred to the King's chaplains, and thus came under the official scrutiny of Knox, his name being the last in the list of the preachers mentioned in the Order. Mr Brown points out that Knox's signature is in the draft which was returned to the Council,

and that he must have given the Articles his general approval. But as the thirty-eighth, afterwards the thirty-fifth, contained a clause which spoke of the *ceremonies* enjoined in the new Prayer Book as being in harmony with evangelical liberty, Knox, with some others, submitted a "Confession" to the Council on the objectionable practice of kneeling at the Communion. The "Confession" may be taken to have been effectual. For the clause in question was omitted when the Articles were published. "It may be surmised," adds Mr Brown, "that in the reduction of their number to forty-two, and other slight modifications, Knox also may have had some share. But however this may be, the leading part he played in the matter of kneeling at the Communion cannot be overlooked in taking account of his place among the agents of the religious revolution in England."

Not less satisfactory is the way in which Mr Brown brings out the historic importance of the small English colony in Geneva, and of the congregation to which Knox and Goodman ministered in that city. Baffled by dissension and intrigue in Frankfort, and disappointed in his hopes of founding a church after the Apostolic model there, Knox turned to Geneva and the civil and ecclesiastical polity instituted by Calvin. The result was the formation of the first Puritan congregation and the beginning of a movement which was to have large issues for the English people. "The term so famous in English history," says Mr Brown, "by which the party of Goodman and Knox came to be designated, was not yet invented; but in every essential feature the party had already a perfectly defined existence. It is as the first Puritan congregation that the church presided over by Knox and Goodman in Geneva possesses a historic importance which it is necessary to emphasise. It was to this congregation that the most strenuous 'Nonconformists' belonged, who afterwards refused to accept the religion of compromise established by Elizabeth; and it is in the writings of Knox and Goodman that those doctrines were first unflinchingly expounded, which eventually became the tradition of Puritanism. The Church Order they adopted was long the directory of public worship in the Reformed Church of Scotland, and the version of part of the Psalms, with which it was accompanied, formed the basis of that which was subsequently used both in England and Scotland."

The book abounds in things which we should like to notice. There are some just and appropriate remarks on the character of the polemical writing of the sixteenth century, and the propriety of taking that into account in estimates of the public men of those times. The Marian question is touched with commendable care. Knox's good name is vigorously defended in the matter of Rizzio's

murder. The various things that combined to give an impetus to the cause of Reform are carefully considered, all due weight being given to the change of feeling and the weakening of the old alliance between Scotland and France which were induced by the conduct of the French soldiery in Scotland. "By the actual experience of what Frenchmen really were—aliens in race and speech, regarding Scotland as a barbarous country, to be made use of as France had need—the Scottish people saw for the first time what the French alliance would really imply. . . . The people were thoroughly roused by the insolence and rapacity of the foreign soldiery, and the Scottish nobles and barons were touched to the quick by the advancement of Frenchmen to the highest offices in the Kingdom. In 1542, after the death of James V., the Catholic clergy had the heart of the country with them against England and heresy; in the growth of opinion the Protestants had become the national party and England the one hope against a foreign tyranny."

Ample justice is done, also, to Knox's statesmanship. The policy which he pursued is shown, as is now generally acknowledged by men of all parties, to have been the best for his native land. Among the new things which Mr Brown is able to add to the Life of the Reformer, the most interesting perhaps is the letter from Peter Young to Beza, which he has been fortunate enough to discover, and in which we have a full description of Knox's personal appearance. The book appears to be singularly free from mistakes. There are a few, mainly in matters of dates. But they are of minor importance, and only such as experts are likely to detect. The general result of Mr Brown's work is to establish the substantial accuracy of M'Crie's account of Knox, and to enlarge our ideas of the immense force of the Reformer's personality. After all the corrections, abatements, and qualifications which a critical study like this makes upon the prevalent view of the man, Knox stands out as the greatest figure in modern Scottish history. "In the case of all men," says Mr Hume in bringing this masterly study to a close, "who have distinguished themselves beyond their fellows, the definitive judgment must rest with the people from whom they sprung, and to whom the heritage of their labours is a permanent and vital question of the balance of good or ill. In this final court of appeal the judgment is undeniably for Knox and against all his cavillers. For the mass of his countrymen—those who have shaped the nation's destinies in the past as they must shape them in the future—Knox is the greatest person their country has produced, and the man to whom, in all that makes a people great, they owe the deepest and most abiding debt." S. D. F. SALMOND.

The Book of Deuteronomy.

By Andrew Harper, B.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, Ormond College, within the University, Melbourne. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1895. *Crown 8vo, pp. xii.* 491. *Price, 7s. 6d.*

PROFESSOR HARPER has rightly felt that it is impossible to expound Deuteronomy without alluding to the critical questions that have been raised concerning it. He accordingly devotes the first chapter to a discussion of the question as to its authorship and age; and comes to the conclusion that it must probably be dated between Hezekiah and Josiah, and that what we have in it is "the prophetic re-formulation and adaptation to new needs of an older legislation." But though attributed to Moses and published as Mosaic, it is not a forgery and consequently unworthy of being regarded as inspired. The literary method followed by its author was, according to ancient and Eastern principles, quite legitimate, and, therefore, a method which inspiration might well use. What Professor Harper says here, taken along with his frequent references to the subject of inspiration, ought to reassure the most timid that faith in the Bible as God's word is not dependent on the answer that one gives to critical questions.

After chapter ii., on "The historic setting of Deuteronomy," we have the exposition proper in chapters iii. to xxvi. It is based throughout on a careful study of the original, and is written not only with great fulness of knowledge, but also in a courageous, independent, and reverent spirit. It does not enter much into details, though at every step it is manifest that these have been carefully considered. Professor Harper is evidently deeply interested in everything relating to the religious, ethical, and economic aspects of Israelite life, and Deuteronomy affords him a natural opportunity of discussing these. Thus we have chapters on "The divine government," "Love to God the law of life," "The Ban," "Law and Religion," "The speakers for God: The King; The Priest; The Prophet," "The economic aspects of Israelite life," "The bread of the soul," "Justice in Israel." Under these and other headings almost the whole material of the book is treated in a most luminous and instructive manner.

In the course of his discussion of these important matters, Professor Harper inevitably comes occasionally into collision with commonly accepted opinions. But he always does so in the most admirable spirit. And he is as far as possible from being a mere follower of other critics, however eminent. This is evident throughout, and more especially in the chapters on "The Decalogue,"

"Law and Religion," and "The Priest." The Decalogue is Mosaic in origin, though not indeed in its present form. While the priesthood of the individual householder and of the rulers was respected, the Levite priesthood nevertheless had its origin at Sinai, and at the chief sanctuary and oracle the chief place in the priesthood fell to Aaron and his sons. The question whether the introduction of the Deuteronomic code and its acceptance by Josiah was not a falling away from the spirituality of ancient religion must be answered in the negative; this alleged decay of spiritual religion "must be considered purely imaginary."

A noteworthy feature in this commentary is the large place given to the consideration of present day questions. Inspiration, religious education, the attitude to be assumed by the Christian towards advancing knowledge, the function of the Church in the world, the relation of religion to morality, commerce, marriage, socialism—on all these subjects Professor Harper writes with great wisdom. And, as becomes an expositor of Deuteronomy, he is full of sympathy with the downtrodden and the poor.

The last chapter treats of "Moses' character and death." It makes it perfectly plain that criticism does not necessarily resolve the historical books of the Old Testament into mere collections of utterly untrustworthy traditions. There are few, if any, critics who will not heartily agree with Professor Harper's last sentence: "Only in him [Moses], and the revelation he received, have we an adequate cause for the great upheaval of religious feeling which shaped and characterised all the after-history of Israel."

DAVID EATON.

Notices.

WITH thankfulness that we have it even thus late, yet with a sad sense of loss in not having it from the lamented scholar's own hand, we receive a new edition of Professor Robertson Smith's brilliant series of lectures on *The Prophets of Israel.*[1] It is not necessary to recall the circumstances to which we owed first the delivery and then the publication of these lectures. It is enough to say that they made a profound impression at the time when they were first given to the public, that they "achieved one of the greatest known literary successes in the department of theology," as Professor Cheyne justly observes, and that, along with the

[1] The Prophets of Israel and their Place in History to the Close of the Eighth Century B.C. By the late W. Robertson Smith, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. New edition. With Introduction and additional Notes by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D. London: Adam & Charles Black. 8vo, pp. lviii. 446. Price, 10s. 6d.

no less brilliant series on *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, they made the most notable contribution not only to the opening of the Scottish mind to new views of Revelation and its records, but also to the reassurance of faith in the presence of an invasion of familiar opinions by others which seemed revolutionary. As remarkable for their devoutness as for their ability, they helped people of all kinds, lay and clerical, to understand how the firmest belief in the Divine authority of the Old Testament may co-exist with the fearless acceptance of all that is involved in the full recognition of the fact that, as Divine Revelation comes to us in the form of a literature, its documents must be subject to all that characterises literary records, and open, like other ancient writings, to literary and historical criticism. They did a great service in Scotland, and far beyond it, at once to scholarship and to faith, and what they were then that they continue to be in this new issue. To what extent the lamented author might have changed them, had he been spared to carry out their revision himself, it is impossible to say. No doubt, as he sedulously prosecuted his own studies and as sedulously observed and weighed the contributions made by other scholars to Old Testament criticism, he might have found reason to modify or withdraw some of his statements on particular points. But there is no ground for supposing that these lectures would have suffered any material alteration in their main positions and methods. Still less reason is there to imagine that there would have been any change in the underlying theological principles, in the general attitude of mind to the idea of a Divine Revelation, or in the witness borne to the great matters of the Evangelical faith.

In the present edition the original text of the lectures has been given, we are glad to see, with very little change. The alterations in the text are few, and, with the exception of some comparatively unimportant omissions, all are carefully indicated in the preface. Additions and alterations which are made in the Notes are also distinguished by being placed within square brackets. Most of the additions, too, are taken from matter provided by the author's Burnett Lectures.

An Introduction is prefixed, which will be read with interest. It is from the pen of Professor Cheyne, who tells us he has had two objects before him in writing it, namely, first to "give some idea of the present position of the criticism of the earlier prophets," and, secondly, "to moderate some sentiments in these lectures, which, though natural to the author in 1882, would scarcely have been re-published by him unaltered at the present time." Opinions will differ as to how far Professor Robertson Smith was likely to have gone in the direction taken by certain later developments

of the criticism of the Prophets. But in what Professor Cheyne says of the book as it is, and of the probabilities of what Professor Smith would have made it had he been able to revise it himself, the editor is loyal to the author's reputation, and entirely appreciative of his remarkable genius, of the importance of his work, and of the position which he took "in the van of progress when Hexateuch Criticism first began to be fully discussed in England." The sketch, too, which Professor Cheyne gives of the course which Old Testament criticism has followed, especially as regards the Prophetic writings, since these lectures were prepared, will be read for its own sake. It is opportune and instructive. It will help us to understand better the position of things as they now are, to judge how much that has been done in recent years is entitled to be regarded as solid work, and to anticipate in some measure the movements of the immediate future.

These lectures were, at the time when they were published, confessedly the best account of the Prophets of Israel that English scholarship had produced. We know nothing written since that will compete with them in the two great qualities of exact scholarship and popular exposition.

In editing a collection of *College Sermons* by the *late Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College,*[1] the Dean of Ripon has done a service for which many will give him thanks. We wait for a biography which will do justice to "the Master," and enable those who knew him only at a distance to understand his singular personality, his rare and varied gifts, and the wonderful influence he never failed to secure over those who were about him. Meanwhile everything in the way of estimate or reminiscence is welcome, and we are grateful to have the representation of him as a preacher which this volume gives. There are twenty Sermons in the volume. They range over the years from 1850 to 1891. They begin with an example of the kind of address he gave in his early days, in the discharge of his duties as Tutor, to young students in preparing them for the Sacrament, and they close with the touching message which he sent to the College when illness, his last illness, made it impossible for him to preach. The larger number are taken from the series of sermons which he continued to deliver from term to term, two in each term, from the time when he became Master. They are altogether an interesting study. They exhibit Benjamin Jowett in different moods, sometimes attempting nothing more than simple, sagacious, prudential counsel, sometimes striking the note of a deep spirituality. They have all the direct, simple style, with the literary touch and the indefinable charm, which gave character to all that he wrote,

[1] London: John Murray. Cr. 8vo, pp xvi. 348. Price, 7s. 6d.

whether in his easier efforts or in his more studied. Among the choicer examples of his pulpit addresses are those on *Sympathy*, the *Joys and Aspirations of Youth*, the *Slow but Sure Working of the Christian Spirit*, and the *Completion of a Life*.

In publishing his *The Teaching of Jesus*,[1] Mr Horton wishes to give to others what he had previously given to his own Church—the advantage of some acquaintance with the results of two of the most recent and most important expositions of our Lord's words. His book does not profess, therefore, to be in any sense an original contribution to the subject. He is content to follow and summarise Wendt's *Lehre Jesu* and Beyschlag's *New Testament Theology*. He certainly attaches a greatly exaggerated value to these two books, able and interesting as both eminently are, when in connection with them he hints at "the Revolution of Theology." But he has made a careful and sympathetic study of both, and having his own mind filled and enlarged by their fresh, historical expositions of Christ's words, he gives a vivid representation of the main points in our Lord's teaching, as it is thus interpreted, first in the Synoptists and then in the Fourth Gospel. He is at the same time an independent student of these masters, and takes occasion to show where, in his opinion, they come short of the actual facts. In particular, he dissents entirely from the attempt to empty Christ's words of all reference to His pre-existence. Looking to the object which Mr Horton has in view, nothing could be better done than this representation of the Lord's Teaching. It is admirably constructed, written throughout in a pure, clear style, with many passages strikingly expressed. Mr Horton has the gift of translating thought as well as language, and he has handled his great theme in a way that will arrest many a reader, and make the spiritual ideas of the Gospels seem to him like new discoveries.

The Messrs Macmillan have issued a large edition of Westcott and Hort's Greek *New Testament*[2] with the valuable explanatory appendices. The book is a very handsome one, splendidly printed, and all that could be desired in form. The new type is used, which is naturally somewhat unfamiliar to the eye. One will soon get accustomed, however, to the novel Greek characters, and this edition will be valued beyond all others by a large class of students. The publishers have done everything in their power to make it useful and attractive.

In a small but very tasteful volume, Dr Alexander Whyte of

[1] By Robert F. Horton. London: Isbister & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 287. Price, 3s. 6d.

[2] The New Testament in the original Greek. The Text Revised by Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 544. Price, 10s. net.

Edinburgh renews our acquaintance with *Lancelot Andrewes,*[1] and does it in an effective and well-considered fashion. A concise, carefully written sketch of the Bishop's life is followed by an extremely interesting chapter on his *Private Devotions,* the method of their composition, their bibliography, their plan and contents. In connection with this, Dr Whyte gives us a discriminating estimate, not only of the *Devotions,* but also of the Bishop himself, his character, and his writings. Then comes a transcript of the *Devotions.* This forms the bulk of the volume, and is done with much care. Use is made of the Laudian text recently edited by Canon Medd, and the translation is given from the Greek and Latin printed texts with the help of the renderings of Drake, Stanhope, Hall, Newman, Neale, and Venables. Special value is rightly attached to Newman's translation from the Greek and Neale's from the Latin, both exceptional renderings in point of style.

In his *Elements of Religion*[2] Professor Jacobs of Philadelphia aims at presenting "in a plain form, a restatement of the main arguments of revealed religion." He deals with the Scripture doctrine of Redemption in five divisions,—the Pre-requisites, the Preparation, the Application, the Effects, the Administration. The great topics which belong to these several divisions are made the subjects of clear and definite statement, with constant reference to Scripture, and in a way indicating repeated, careful study. The author, who has made considerable contributions to Lutheran Theology, writes from the standpoint of Lutheran orthodoxy, but in a frank and appreciative spirit as regards other systems.

Dr Blaikie's *For the Work of the Ministry*[3] has reached its sixth edition, and appears in a carefully revised form. It has been greatly valued and widely used, not only in this country, but in other lands and in different Churches. It treats of the great question of the purposes of the Christian Ministry, the call to it, the place of preaching in it, the history of the Church pulpit, the qualities of effective preaching, pulpit style, the construction and delivery of sermons, the duties of the Pastor, etc. In this new issue, which is also enriched by a Bibliography indicating the most important books, ancient and modern, on Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, it should have a fresh career of usefulness before it.

[1] Lancelot Andrewes and his Private Devotions: A Biography, a Transcript, and an Interpretation. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 232. Price, 3s. 6d.

[2] By Henry Eyster Jacobs, D.D., LL.D. Philadelphia: Frederick. Cr. 8vo, pp. 298.

[3] A Manual of Homiletical and Pastoral Theology. By William Garden Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., New College, Edinburgh. London: Nisbet & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 304. Price, 5s.

In the *Ethics of the Old Testament*,[1] Mr Bruce has found a subject of great importance, and one in which little has been done by English writers. He has produced a very good book, not one by any means covering the whole subject, but one that treats in an intelligent and appreciative way most of the outstanding points. In an introductory chapter he speaks briefly of the contrast between the Ethics of the Old Testament and the Ethics of Pagan Antiquity. This is the most meagre section of the book. A fuller and more precise statement of the main differences between the systems would have sharpened the exposition of the morality of the Old Testament. The ethical character of the Old Testament Revelation is then stated generally, and the principle of its morality explained. This brings us to a more detailed examination of Israel's Code of Duty as expressed in the Law of the Ten Words, and in the legislation relating to the rights of men, sanitation, the cause of the poor, of women, and of children, and the sacrificial practice. The reactionary tendencies of the later Judaism are also briefly considered, and the moral difficulties of the Old Testament are reviewed. The chapters dealing with these last topics are among the best in the volume. Mr Bruce has written a book which is the result of careful study, and contains much that is well thought out and interestingly stated.

A seasonable addition is made to the series of Guild Text-Books by Dr James Robertson's volume on *Our Lord's Teaching*.[2] Useful chapters are given on the Manner, Method, Great Subject, and Basis, of Christ's Teaching. The matter of His Teaching is then stated as it concerns Himself, Man, Righteousness, the Conditions of Entrance into the Kingdom of God, the Blessings of that Kingdom, His own Death, the Holy Spirit, the Church and Family, and the End of the World. The whole is done in a clear and interesting manner, and with a proper regard to the classes specially in view. Our youth will find this small book open up to them a new and fruitful line of study.

Another opportune contribution to the same series, that makes pleasant and instructive reading is Mr Milligan's account of *The English Bible*[3]—a painstaking and well written sketch of its history from the Early Paraphases to Wycliffe, and from Wycliffe to Tindale, Coverdale, Matthew Taverner, the Great Bible, the Genevan Version, the Bishops' Bible, the Rheims and Douai Bible, on to the Authorised and Revised Versions. The little book gives evidence of thoughtful and extended study.

[1] By W. S. Bruce, M.A., Minister of Banff. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 292. Price, 4s.

[2] By Rev. James Robertson, D.D., Whittinghame. Pp. 139. Price, 6d. net.

[3] By the Rev. George Milligan, B.D., Caputh. London: Adam & Charles Black. Pp. 137. Price, 6d. net.

The Seven Churches in Asia Minor[1] is the title of a small volume which is written with a purely practical purpose. The author leaves it to others to deal with the historical and critical questions which belong to the interpretation of that section of the Apocalypse, and limits himself to a statement of what these Churches are as "types of the religious life of to-day." This he unfolds and illustrates in simple and forcible terms.

We have also a second edition of Mr E. Hampden Cook's *The Christ has come*,[2] in which, in general sympathy with Dr Stuart Russell, Mr Noyes, and Mr Henry Dunn, he endeavours to establish the position that Christ's Second Coming is an event of the past.

We receive with pleasure a second and enlarged edition of Mr William Tallack's informing book on *Penological and Preventive Principles*,[3] in which the author makes a discreet application of the experience he has gained in the work of the Secretaryship of the Howard Association to the problems of Crime, Vice, and Pauperism, and the best methods of grappling with these terrible evils.

Mr Robert Bird gives a very happy rendering of the story of *Joseph*,[4] of the kind that he attempted with so much success in his *Jesus the Carpenter of Nazareth*. The simplicity of its style, and the picturesqueness of its narrative will make the book a great favourite with the young readers for whom it is intended.

For Days of Youth[5] is a book of Daily Bible Readings for the young. Its plan is to select a text for each day of the year, and to give, in the form of an exposition of the passage, some brief pointed counsels or practical reflections, such as may be helpful to young people. The texts have been chosen with a just consideration of what is most suitable for those specially in view. The reflections based on them are made more interesting by anecdote and illustration. The author has done his best to make the book an attractive and useful aid to devotional reading among young people.

Two volumes of the *Biblical Illustrator* are devoted to the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*.[6] Special attention is given, as befits the case, to the 15th chapter, Paul's great argument being ex-

[1] By Alexander Mackennal, M.A., B.D. London: Elliott Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 123. Price, 3s. 6d.

[2] London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 180. Price, 1s. 6d.

[3] London: Wertheimer, Lea & Co. 8vo, pp. 480. Price, 8s.

[4] *Joseph the Dreamer*. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. 387. Price, 5s.

[5] By the Rev. Charles A. Salmond, M.A., Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 367. Price, 5s.

[6] By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. London: Nisbet & Co. Pp. 588, 596. Price, 7s. 6d. each.

plained and illustrated by a great wealth of quotations drawn from all manner of sources.

Successward[1] is a reprint of an American book in which some wholesome and kindly counsel is given to young men on what makes success, and what the young man should be in business, social life, religious life, dress, amusements, etc.

We have also to notice a series of *Fifteen-Minute Sermons for the People*,[2] in which, short as they are, the Rev. S. H. Fleming, Vicar of St James's, Croydon, speaks to some purpose of Christian truths and duties; *Four Foundation Truths*,[3] popular Church of England addresses on the *Church and the Bible*, the *Church View of Baptism*, the *Lord's Supper*, the *Prayer-Book*, and *Absolution*, delivered on week-day evenings at St Margaret's, Westminster.

Mr Andrew Melrose sends some volumes, well suited for young readers, including *The Making of the Empire*,[4] and *Out with the Old Voyagers*.[5] The Sunday School Union also sends some useful and interesting volumes intended for youth, including *A Life of Christ for Little Folks*,[6] a second edition of W. Douglas Mackenzie's concise and excellent essay on *The Ethics of Gambling*,[7] a stirring, well-told story, *Ben-Hur, a Tale of the Christ*,[8] by Lew. Wallace, etc.

In connection with the four hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the University of Aberdeen, and the opening of a splendid suite of new buildings for medical, scientific, and social purposes in Marischal College, two seasonable and interesting volumes have appeared on the history of the Northern seat of learning. One is entitled *The Universities of Aberdeen: A History. By R. S. Rait, M.A., Assistant to the Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen.*[9] The other is *A History of the University of Aberdeen*, 1495-1895. By John Malcolm Bulloch, M.A.[10]

The title of the one recalls the fact that for a very long period there were two independent Universities in Aberdeen, one in the old town and another in the new town. The title of the other indicates that Aberdeen, beginning in 1495 with the one University and the one College, long known as King's College, and having a

[1] A Young Man's Book for Young Men. By Edward W. Bok. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 184. Price, 2s. 6d.

[2] London: Elliott Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 198. Price, 5s.

[3] By Rev. Walter Abbott, M.A., and others. London: Elliott Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 104. Price, 2s. 6d.

[4] By Arthur Temple. London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 288. Price, 3s. 6d.

[5] By Horace G. Groser. London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 276. Price, 3s. 6d.

[6] By Helen E. Jackson. London. Cr. 8vo, pp. 223. Price, 3s. 6d.

[7] Small cr. 8vo, pp. 90. Price 1s.

[8] Cr. 8vo, pp. 430. Price, 2s.

[9] Aberdeen: James G. Bisset. Pp. 400. Price, 4s. net.

[10] London: Hodder & Stoughton. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 220. Price, 4s. 6d.

second University and College founded by the liberality of the Earl Marischal in 1593, closes four hundred years of Academic rivalry and Academic change with one well-equipped University comprising two Colleges,—the result of an important Act of Union which became operative in 1860. Both volumes are well written and trustworthy accounts of institutions which have reared many eminent men, and done a great service to Scotland. The authors have gone to the original sources, and deserve credit for exact, painstaking work. The books will be very welcome to Aberdeen alumni. At many points they illustrate the Academic life of Scotland, and the condition of learning at different periods of our national history, in a way that should secure for them a wide circle of readers.

The Brotherhood of Man[1] is described by its author as a *Study towards a Christian Philosophy of History.* The idea of the book is that mankind has a goal, that this goal is the realisation of a united brotherhood, and that history is to be interpreted as a continuous movement towards this great and happy end. These are the propositions which Mr Crawford wishes to establish. In attempting to make them good, he leads us through extensive and important fields of inquiry, historical, theological, ethical, and philosophical. His plan is to show, first, that history, rightly read, exhibits "the growth of the idea of a united humanity as revealed in the progress of humanity"; and in the second place, that this can be identified with "the teaching of Christ, and the general growth of the Church," it being indeed "the central spirit of Christianity." He states also, although only in a general way at present, "the relation which the progress of mankind towards unity bears to morality and knowledge."

Mr Crawford has a great and noble subject. He treats it ably, candidly, with large knowledge of the best literature bearing on it, and with a strong faith in the steady advance of our race. Perhaps the thing that is most distinctive of the book is its rare hopefulness—a hopefulness which refuses either to take a gloomy view of the present, or to anticipate less than a great and gracious future.

The Introduction deals mainly with the idea of *development.* What Mr Crawford asserts by that term, he is careful to explain, is "a growth in ability to *interpret* divine truth." He criticises the Roman view, whether as stated by Newman and Möhler or as practically acted on by the Pope in adding new articles to the Creed, as implying a "power of constructing new foundations, of declaring the existence of new facts, of practically making fresh

[1] By the Rev. John Howard Crawford, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. vii. 379. Price, 5s.

revelations to mankind." He says some just things at the same time of doctrines which once had a great place in religious belief, and have now gone into the background, and of the impossibility of accounting for the sovereignty once enjoyed by them, except by recognising that they had a real and vital relation to the peculiar mental character and spiritual aptitudes and experiences of the time. They had their influence, in short, because they were "the best thought that the spirit of their time" could give to the religious problems which they touched, and if they have lost that influence with later generations, it is because they have failed to stand the test of Time, the great interpreter.

The sketch of the idea of human Brotherhood in pre-Christian times, the statement of the Ethical principles of Jesus, the history of the idea of Brotherhood in the Early Church, in the Middle Ages, and since the Reformation, the chapters on the Family, on Social and Political Progress, on the Natural Growth of Altruism —these and other sections of the book are full of good things well expressed. The importance of the doctrinal forms of Christianity, notwithstanding the fact that it is by its ethical spirit that in the long run anything promulgated as Christian truth stands or falls, is judiciously stated. In most of the chapters there are things of which much might be said, mainly in approval, sometimes in criticism. It is natural for one who writes with so hearty an enthusiasm for his theme, to exaggerate some points. This is seen, in particular, in the claim that the single truth here expounded is "the key to all eschatology." Be that as it may, Mr Crawford has given us a strong, healthy, buoyant book.

Theism as a Science of Natural Theology and Natural Religion[1] is the title given to a series of Lectures prepared by Mr Voysey as a supplement to his former volume on *Theism, or the Religion of Common Sense.* The book begins by asserting for Theism the value of a Science, because it is "based exclusively on facts, on natural facts which are beyond all dispute." It then proceeds to prove, on the basis of these facts, the existence of a God, and of One possessed of such attributes as knowledge, power, and will. In connection with this we find some acute remarks on objections taken to the Argument for Design. The author next takes up the question—How can we determine whether this God, without the postulate of whose existence the phenomena of the world would be inexplicable, is a good God or an evil. Here a very careful argument is worked out on behalf of the goodness of God. This is the most interesting, as it is also by no means the least convincing, portion of the volume. The mysteries of pain and death are made

[1] By the Rev. Charles Voysey, B.A., St Edmund Hall, Oxford. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 134. Price, 2s. 6d.

the subject of reverent and penetrating inquiry, and some just and weighty things are said of the purpose of good that is in them, and of the relation in which they stand to the Divine Love.

In most that he claims for Theism, and in the general course of his argument on the main questions, we are largely at one with him. We dissent from him when he affirms that a true Theism must come in conflict with Revelation and destroy its foundations, just as it comes into collision with Atheism. We can understand how one looking, as Mr Voysey does, at the gross and unworthy guise in which some of the doctrines of Christianity have been presented in certain schools of theology or in the works of particular divines of extreme type, might be led to this conclusion. But we cannot see how Revelation rightly understood can be held to be rendered either superfluous or untrue by Theism. While we part company with Mr Voysey at this point, we are glad to have from him this volume, which in other respects is a thoughtful and reasonable statement of the Theistic position.

Mr Page has been rightly persuaded to allow his brief Commentary on the Greek text of the *Book of Acts*[1] to be adapted to the Authorised Version. The small volume originally published in 1866 was a model of succinct, exact, informing exegesis. The Notes as they appear in this new form, together with the admirable maps and the scholarly Introduction written by Mr Page himself, will be of great use to English readers.

Canon Bernard, well known by his valuable Bampton Lectures on *The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament*, publishes an interesting study of the Canticles of the New Testament.[2] It is strange that these hymns, the only hymns of the New Testament, have received so little attention except in Sermons and Commentaries. They furnish rich material for distinct treatment, and by selecting them for separate study and exposition, Canon Bernard supplies a want. The source and channels of information, the families concerned, the attitude of expectation in Israel, and the narrative of the Annunciation, are first considered. The Magnificat, the Benedictus, the Gloria in Excelsis, and the Nunc Dimittis, are then separately expounded. The exposition is largely of a practical kind, but attention is given to the precise, historical sense of the leading terms, and to the Old Testament colouring of the whole. Nor are the finer questions of criticism

[1] The Acts of the Apostles, with Introduction and Notes. By T. E. Page, M.A., and A. Walpole, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xxxiii. 229. Price, 2s. 6d.

[2] The Songs of the Holy Nativity. By Thomas Dehany Bernard, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Wells. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 164. Price, 5s.

overlooked. In a brief appendix we have, for example, a discussion of the various readings in the *Gloria*, with a careful statement of the documentary evidence for the one paraphrased in the "men in whom He is well pleased" of the Revised Version. There are some misprints in the Greek and Hebrew (*e.g.*, as pp. 163, 164). The Songs are capable of a still more strictly historical treatment. But Canon Bernard makes a fresh and interesting contribution to their study.

Professor W. F. Slater of Didsbury College, contributes a *Manual of Modern Church History*[1] to the *Books for Bible Students* Series. The period embraced is the last two centuries. The fault of the book is that it is by much too small for its purpose. The treatment of some of the Churches is so slim as to be misleading. There are at the same time some remarkably correct and compact statements. If space were allowed him, Professor Slater might produce a handbook which would fill a vacant place in our theological literature.

We are glad to see that Professor Findlay's contribution to the same series has already reached its fifth thousand and its third edition.[2] It has been revised throughout, and among other additions and improvements, we notice in especial a Postscript on *The Locality of St Paul's "Galatia."* We know no volume of anything like the same size to match this small book as a study of the Pauline Epistles.

A most useful addition is also made to the same series by Mr Moulton's *Introduction to the Study of New Testament Greek.*[3] The book is based upon Dr Moulton's *Winer*, with careful use of other authorities, Rutherford, Grimm, Schmiedel, Delbrück, Brugmann, Meyer, &c. The Introduction gives in concise form an admirable general statement, first on Greek and its dialects, and then on Hellenistic Greek under the three definitions of Hebraic, Colloquial, and Late. The Accidence is next dealt with, and that is followed by six extremely lucid chapters on the Syntax. In a couple of Appendices we have also a list of words and grammatical types identical or nearly identical in form, and an explanation of such technical terms as are most frequently met with in Commentaries. Knowing what his father has done for the scientific study of the grammar of New Testament Greek in our country, we should expect good work in the same department from Mr Moulton. In

[1] London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. x. 221. Price, 2s. 6d.

[2] The Epistles of Paul the Apostle: a sketch of their origin and contents. By George G. Findlay, B.A. London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 305. Price, 2s. 6d.

[3] By James Hope Moulton, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. London: Charles H. Kelly. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. xvii. 252. Price, 3s.

this volume he fulfils that expectation and worthily carries on the succession. Particular attention is given to the philological element. The Syntax is admirably handled. The paragraphs on the negatives, the uses of ἄν, conditional sentences, and final clauses, are particularly well done. Mr Moulton has made a very thorough study of his subject, and has given us a book for which both teachers and scholars owe him much.

In the *Expositor's Bible* series, the first part of *Jeremiah* was committed to the Rev. J. C. Ball. The second part has been expounded by Professor Bennett.[1] In the Books of Chronicles Professor Bennett had a subject which was particularly difficult to handle interestingly. The strong qualities which his exposition of these books discovered, are no less conspicuous in this new contribution to the series. He has brought the resources of sound scholarship, historical insight, and literary tact to the service of this Exposition, and has made the situation dealt with in these chapters live again with all the confusions of the time, the faction and intrigue, the blunders and bewilderments of the politics of the day, and the figure of the solitary prophet, the prophet of doom, in the centre. He brings out at the same time in vivid form the principles which were working in these entanglements, and shows their application to modern times. He divides the whole into three books, which treat respectively of Personal Utterances and Narratives, Prophecies concerning Foreign Nations, and Jeremiah's Teaching concerning Israel and Judah. The chapters on Restoration and the Epilogue on Jeremiah and Christ, perhaps show the author at his best. A chronological table, constructed in accordance with the best results of investigation, adds to the usefulness of the book. For the purposes of the series these chapters of Jeremiah could scarcely have been better expounded.

Fragmentary as the book is, the late Professor Hort's *Prolegomena to St Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians*[2] will be gratefully received. It is an excellent specimen of the lamented author's academic work. The questions of the origin and composition of the Roman Church, the special type of Jewish Christianity which is to be recognised in it, the purpose of the Epistle, and the structure of the closing chapter, are handled with the sure and easy touch of a master. But of greater interest is the treatment of the Epistle to the Ephesians, which also occupies the larger part of the volume. It is worth much to see how Professor Hort looked at the problems of the Epistle, its encyclical character, its

[1] The Book of Jeremiah. Chapters XXI.-LII. By W. H. Bennett, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 372. Price, 7s. 6d.

[2] London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 192. Price, 6s.

relation to the Epistle from Laodicea, the type of Paulinism which prevails in it, and its great doctrinal ideas and to what conclusions he was led on these questions. The volume, small as it is, is full of instruction, and amply deserves the honour of posthumous publication.

We have another very acceptable memorial of the late Professor Hort in his *Six Lectures on the Ante-Nicene Fathers.*[1] They are of a less severely scientific character than most that the lamented scholar wrote, and give us a very pleasing idea of how he could accommodate himself to his audience. Clement of Rome, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen are each treated briefly, but most informingly. The results of extensive and most careful study are given in these short, luminous, popular lectures.

The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians[2] is also expounded by Professor James S. Candlish of Glasgow, in the series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students.* It is an epistle in expounding which there is ample scope for the hand of the trained theologian as well as for that of the grammarian, and the strength of this compact Commentary lies largely in the explanation of the great theological ideas. The main questions of a literary and historical kind receive due attention. There are instructive statements on the condition of Christianity in the world at the time when the Epistle was written, and on the relation of the letter to other parts of the New Testament. But the distinctive thing is the full and careful exposition of the great Pauline doctrines—predestination, grace, adoption, and others.

As a "necessary sequel" to his earlier work, *Through Christ to God*, Dr Joseph Agar Beet publishes now *The New Life in Christ.*[3] In the former volume he dealt with the historical basis of the Christian faith and hope, and the fundamental matters of Christian doctrine. He endeavoured to prove the existence of an intelligent and loving Creator and Ruler of the universe, to establish the truth of a righteous judgment beyond the grave, to interpret the sense of sin, to expound the way of forgiveness through Jesus Christ, and to set forth the power of His death and resurrection. In the present volume he gives us a study in personal religion, and offers it as the proper complement to the theological inquiry. The subject of the volume, therefore, is the moral resurrection of sinful men into new life. This Dr Beet unfolds in five parts, treating in succession of the Ruin, the Restoration, the Way of Holiness, the Divine and Human in the Christian Life, and the Revelation of God in the New Life in Christ. His object is to investigate this new life in

[1] London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 138. Price, 3s. 6d.
[2] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 132. Price, 1s. 6d.
[3] London: Hodder & Stoughton. Crown 8vo, pp. xv. 347. Price, 6s. 6d.

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Christ "according to the principles of scientific research," and to exhibit it as "an organic whole, consisting of various elements mutually related and holding definite relations to other matters of human thought and knowledge." The divisions which Dr Beet has adopted for his exposition do not seem to hang very well together. A distribution of his material better fitted to express the sense of unity in the subject would have been desirable. This, however, is only of secondary importance. The main thing is to give a scientific statement of the ethical and practical side of Christian truth, and to show how real and vital the connection is between Christian fact and doctrine, on the one hand, and Christian life and duty on the other. This Dr Beet does with much success, and in a way that brings all home to personal religion and personal experience.

Though the moral power and practical contents of Christianity form Dr Beet's immediate subject, he has, as matter of course, to touch on a number of theological or doctrinal questions in developing his argument,—the probation of man, the Fall and its results, the nature of repentance and faith, the meaning of justification, adoption, and perseverance, the eternal purpose of God, and others. These topics are not discussed at length in all their theological bearings, but only so far as is necessary for the ethical purpose of the book. What is said of them, however, is often of interest as showing the conclusions Dr Beet has come to on some of the most difficult and debated questions of doctrine. In his statement of the Eternal Purpose of God, for example, he makes it clear that, in his view, the Divine counsel of Salvation could not have had its reason in any foreseen merit of man or in anything outside God Himself. On the question of human freedom, again, he goes against John Stuart Mill and the author of the *Synthetic Philosophy*, and withdraws the moral actions of men from the law of causality, even in view of all the explanations given in the *System of Logic*. But upon these and other tempting subjects it is impossible to enter at present. It is enough to say that Dr Beet's book is of an excellent spirit throughout, and will both interest and edify.

An attractive volume on *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*[1] comes from the hand of Dr Frederic G. Kenyon of the British Museum. The author has had a valuable training for this kind of work, and he has used it well. What he attempts is a history of the text of our Bible and its translations. The subject of the transmission of the text of Scripture is one to which much attention has been given for a length of time, and the literature dealing with it is now considerable. With all that has been done, however, and done with so much success, there is room enough for a book like the present, which aims at giving in moderate compass

[1] London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 8vo, pp. 255. Price 5s.

the results of the studies of our leading specialists. Mr Kenyon has made diligent and discriminating use of the works of our best authorities, English, French, German, and Italian. He has also studied the manuscripts in the British Museum. The result is a compact statement which puts the English reader abreast of the most reliable literature on the subject, and of the conclusions drawn from the most recent discoveries. The accounts given of the more important manuscripts and versions are in general correct and sufficient. There are points on which exception may be taken to Mr Kenyon's positions, as, for example, on the value of the Massoretic text. But these are small matters. The book is an honest, painstaking, and reliable piece of work. Its usefulness is increased by a series of 26 facsimiles.

We owe to the Rev. John Brownlie, the author of *Hymns of our Pilgrimage*, a tasteful little volume of *Hymns of the Early Church*.[1] Mr Brownlie has made a selection of over sixty of the best hymns of the ancient Latin Church, translating them, and arranging them in the order of the Christian year. He has gone to the best collections, Daniel, Mone, and others, for the text, and in his translations has made it his aim to "give the *idea* and *spirit* of the Latin verses." In many cases he has given pleasant renderings, faithful to the sense of the originals, and preserving much of their peculiar rhythmic melodiousness. An interesting historical introduction, and also appropriate biographical notes, are given by Dr Charles M'Crie. The volume is a dainty and attractive one, most useful for devotional reading.

Much as has been written on the Oxford movement, not only by those who knew it merely at a distance, but also by those who were in the heart of it and originated or directed it, more remains to be said of it and its leaders still. The interest in it as a chapter in our ecclesiastical history, and a part of that great wave of renewed religious life which in different forms and with different results touched England and Scotland some three-quarters of a century ago, is not likely soon to die out. Nor can it be said that either the movement itself or the chief actors in it are yet altogether understood? Every new contribution to the study of the movement or the men is welcome. Neither Dean Church's classical book, nor the ponderous life of Dr Pusey, nor the many additions of various kinds that have been recently made to the literature, have by any means exhausted the subject. There is a place, therefore, for Dr Rigg's *Oxford High Anglicanism and its Chief Leaders*.[2]

[1] London: Nisbet & Co. 18mo., pp. xxvii. 159. Price, 2s. 6d.

[2] By the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., Principal of Westminster Training College. London: Charles H. Kelly. 8vo., pp. xi. 348. Price, 7s. 6d.

The estimate which this book gives is the estimate of a Nonconformist. But it is the estimate of one who strives to be fair, as far as human infirmity permits, and it is made in no spirit of unfriendliness to the great historic Church of England. It is the result, too, of studies which have been carried on for many years, and which have been inspired by the desire to understand the movement and do justice both to it and to its leaders. So far back as the time when he published his essays on Coleridge, Hare, Maurice, Kingsley, and Jowett in his well-known *Modern Anglican Theology*, Dr Rigg had begun the serious consideration of the Oxford School and the developments of Anglicanism. In publishing at this late date the results of his inquiries he has the advantage of having before him much regarding the prime movers —their aims, their actions, and their final estimates of the events —that could not be placed before the public till quite recently.

The narrative portion of Dr Rigg's work is of great interest. It omits nothing that is of material consequence. It will commend itself as an eminently fair as well as a very readable account of the course which things took in Oxford, and the parts which the different men played in the inception and development of the Movement. The sketches of Hurrell Froude and Ward are full of life, and set the men very distinctly before us with all their extravagances and peculiarities, odd and likeable. The most important parts of Dr Rigg's book, however, are the critical. In these he will be prepared for a certain measure of dissent and protest. His estimates of the leading spirits in the Movement, especially Keble, Newman, and Pusey, are less favourable than are usually given. He does not shrink from turning the light upon certain weaknesses and defects in the character and the mental make of the great leaders which go far, as he regards them, to explain the direction which was given to the Movement. His criticism of Pusey in particular is severe, but he founds it on the discoveries made in the published letters. He is thoroughly appreciative, at the same time, of Pusey's devoutness, as well as of the piety, the genius, and all the gracious and noble qualities of Keble and Newman. The time is perhaps scarcely come even yet when an entirely calm and impartial judgment of the Movement is possible. But that time cannot be far distant, and Dr Rigg's volume, throwing into relief, as it does, things in the Movement and in the men to which a very natural hero-worship makes one blind, will do much to hasten it. No one who desires to understand some of the more important chapters in the religious life of the England of this century can afford to pass the volume by.

We reserve Professor Ramsay's *St Paul the Traveller and the*

Roman Citizen and Canon Gore's *Dissertations* for more adequate consideration than can be given them at present.

We are glad to know that the Cambridge University Press has undertaken the larger edition of the Septuagint with full critical apparatus, and has secured for this important work the competent editorship of the Rev. A. E. Brooke of King's, and Mr Norman M'Lean of Christ's College.

The revised version of the *Apocrypha*[1] is now in the hands of the public, and the labours of the Revision Committee are completed. This last portion of their task was entrusted to three Committees, the London, Westminster, and Cambridge Committees, headed respectively by Bishop Ellicott, Archbishop Trench, and Bishop Lightfoot, and was begun on the conclusion of the revision of the New Testament. The work has been carried out on the general principles accepted as applicable to the revision of the Authorised Version of the Old and New Testaments. Among other improvements on the old version of the Apocrypha, the revisers have been able to incorporate the missing fragment in 2 Esdras vii. 36-105, thanks to Professor Bensly. The work of revision has been executed carefully and faithfully, and puts the crown in worthy fashion on the important and protracted labours of the Committee.

From the Clarendon Press we receive two further instalments of the *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*,[2] with which Professors Driver, Briggs, and Francis Brown are busy. The editors are to be congratulated both on the sustained excellence of the work and on the progress they have been able to make with it.

To give within the limits of a small handbook a sketch of the whole course of the history of the Church, which shall embrace the results of the most recent investigation and follow the manner of the acknowledged masters in modern historical writing, is a feat which not one in a thousand could accomplish, It has been accomplished, however, for German readers in Professor Rudolph Sohm's *Kirchengeschichte im Grundriss*, a volume of unusual excellence both in knowledge and in style, which has already run into its eighth edition. It is now made available for the English reader in a faithful and very readable translation by Miss May Sinclair,[3] and it is sure of a good reception. It has the cordial and appreciative recommendation of Professor Gwatkin, who speaks of it as "neither a meagre sketch nor a confused mass of facts; but a

[1] Oxford and Cambridge Presses. Ruby, 16mo. Price, 2s. Minion, cr. 8vo, 3s.: Pica, demy 8vo, 7s. 6d.; Pica, royal 8vo, 10s. 6d.

[2] Pp. 265-440. Parts IV. and V. Price, 2s. 6d. each.

[3] Outlines of Church History. By Rudolf Sohm, Professor of Law, Leipzig. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 254. Price, 3s. 6d.

masterly outline of Church History from the first ages to our own times, combining a lawyer's precision and a historian's insight into the meaning of events with a philosopher's sense of the unity of history and a Christian's conviction that the Kingdom of God is spiritual." No higher praise could be bestowed upon the book than the opinion thus expressed by one who is entitled above most English scholars to speak with authority on such a subject.

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The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England.

Translated from the German of Felix Makower, Barrister in Berlin. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1895. 8*vo, pp. x.* 545. *Price*, 15*s.*

NEARLY twenty years ago Dr Stubbs said from his professorial chair at Oxford that "we ought to be taking advantage of the great interest with which English history is now being read in Germany," and "to learn from that interest that German history might be quite as remunerative to us as ours to the Germans." Lappenberg and Maurer on Anglo-Saxon Constitutional Antiquities, Schmid on Anglo-Saxon Laws, with the works of Pauli, Gneist, Budinger, Sickel, and others, are perhaps known in the main only to professed students of history. But it is their own fault if Englishmen of ordinary education and culture are not acquainted with "The History of England under the Stewarts" by Leopold V. Ranke, whom Dr Stubbs pronounced to be "one of the very greatest historians that ever lived." A translation of that great work has been before English readers for more than twenty years; and the same high authority declared that for Englishmen to have in their own tongue an estimate of this period of their own history by a scholar "who brought unparalleled qualifications and entire impartiality to bear upon it" was "a boon of incalculable value." No Englishman can write of England under the Stewarts without bias. For impartiality we must go to those of another nation. The difficulty in such cases is to find the requisite interest and knowledge, and both of these were found in Ranke.

Nothing but a very genuine zeal for the increase of knowledge, both in accuracy and breadth, could induce foreigners to study our constitutional and political history with the minuteness and thoroughness which have made some of the works mentioned above to be part of the indispensable equipment of the specialist, and it is both a noteworthy and a happy thing that such men are found—one might almost say in abundance. Nevertheless these have for the most part been men who have made history their main study in life, and have been attracted by an imperfectly known foreign branch of it. In the book before us we have a still more remarkable instance of a foreigner working with great industry through the intricate details of English history. And he has chosen for his special department, not our military and naval history, which can be made interesting to any one, nor the history of our consti-

tutional development, which can interest and instruct any one who follows modern politics with intelligence, but the history of the constitution of our National Church. And the specially notable fact is that the author is not a theologian by calling, nor yet a professor of ecclesiastical history, but a lawyer practising in Berlin. Dr Makower, a Prussian barrister, writing the Constitutional History of the Church of England, reminds us of George Grote, an English banker, writing the History of Greece. But the latter is the less remarkable case of the two. Every English boy who goes to a grammar school learns something about ancient Greece, and therefore has a chance of being inspired with an enthusiasm for the subject, whereas it must be only very rarely that the education of a German lad brings him into contact with the Constitution of the English Church, and not even our national vanity can lead us to suppose that the history of the Anglican Church is as capable of inspiring enthusiasm as the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. It would be very interesting to know how the idea first entered into the author's mind of selecting such a subject and of treating it so exhaustively. Has he had many friends in the English Church, or has he lived much among us? Or has he ever, as a diversion from his legal studies, written an article on the subject, which has grown, as Mr Rashdall's essay on Universities has grown, into a work of first-rate importance on the subject?

About these things we can only guess, for the author sticks in the most severe manner to business. The book has neither Introduction nor Preface, whether by the writer or the translator, to tell us anything about its genesis. There is merely a "Note" to show us how to find our way in the volume, and to inform us that the translation has had the advantage of improvements made by the author himself, with the help of Dr F. Liebermann; and then the author plunges at once *in medias res.*

He divides his subject into five parts. I. History of the Constitution of the Church. II. Sources of Ecclesiastical Law. III. Relation of the Church of England to other Christian Churches. IV. The Clergy and their Orders. V. The Several Authorities in the Church. Of these five, the first and last are far the most considerable, the first occupying 150 pages, the last over 200, in a total of 537, of which more than 80 are devoted to very useful appendices.

Under the first head, England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies all receive separate treatment; but the sketch of the last three is necessarily brief. Two-thirds of this part of the subject is rightly devoted to England, and divided into three portions by the obvious landmarks of the Norman Conquest and the Reformation.

Throughout the whole volume the labour which has been incurred by the author, and the amount of reading which he has accomplished in his resolute determination to equip himself properly for his great task, is manifest in every section. Chapter and verse are given us for almost everything. Indeed Dr Makower is frequently not content with telling us where the fact stated can be found, but he quotes the whole passage *in extenso*. Often it happens,—perhaps more often than not,—that the amount of text in a page is exceeded by the notes. This gives the volume rather a heavy appearance; but it makes it all the more valuable to the careful student. In this respect it reminds one of Stubbs's edition of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. And it is evident that the authors knows where to go for the best guidance. The frequency with which Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils, &c.*) is referred to in the earlier part of the History, Stubbs (*Constitutional History*) in the mediæval period, and Phillimore (*Ecclesiastical Law*) during the later times, gives confidence to the English reader. For matters of detail in recent times even the *Official Year-Books of the Church of England* and the *Clergy Lists* have been studied. And the details to which he descends are remarkable. That he should discuss the development of such offices as those of Archbishop, Bishop, and Archdeacon was imperative; also such bodies as Convocations and Chapters. Rural Deans and Rural Chapters also are subjects which we have a right to expect; and the same may be said of Curates and Churchwardens. But Parish Clerks, Sextons, Beadles, and Organists, Diocesan Synods and Conferences, Deaconesses' Institutions and Brotherhoods, are all included and discussed.

The whole is treated objectively. The author is evidently not a Roman Catholic; but he desires to be impartial and allow facts to speak for themselves. If he holds no brief for Rome, he holds none for Anglicanism either. Perhaps no Englishman, whether Churchman or Dissenter, could have been so successful in this respect.

At the outset, the respective labours and successes of Rome and the Keltic Churches in the conversion of the English to Christianity are fairly stated. There is no overstatement of the great work done by the Italian missions. On the other hand there is no such questionable epigram as that Augustine was the Apostle of Kent, but Aidan the Apostle of England. As to the relations between the organized English Church and Rome :—

"Outwardly the Pope meddled but little with the affairs of the English Church; the sole important points in this regard are the conferring of the pallium on the two archbishops and the taxation of England by the imposition of Peter's pence. Far more consider-

able was the influence which the Pope exercised, not in definite legal forms, but in an informal way, either by personal or epistolary intercourse with Englishmen in high place, or through the mere force of that example which the Italian and Frankish countries, more closely connected with the papal government, exerted upon less civilized England.

Within the land, Church and State remained in intimate union. . . . As a rule the King, with the assistance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, directed alike the secular and the ecclesiastical administration. At the national councils, wherein important measures and laws were discussed and adopted, both bishops and temporal magnates were present. The laws enacted dealt with spiritual as well as with secular things. In the legislation of Eadmund (940-946), and often afterwards, the resolutions arrived at are, it is true, divided in outward form into laws spiritual and laws temporal; but both groups rest on the consent of the same persons, nor is the division strictly carried out in regard to the substance of the several enactments."

All this, and more to the same effect, is well put. One misses, however, a clear grasp of the important fact that it was the unity and organization of the Church which paved the way for the unity and organization of the State. At first there were various missionary centres, loosely and irregularly connected. These were at last brought into unity under Archbishop Theodore, the first archbishop, as Bede says, whom all the English obeyed. In a similar way the various kingdoms, commonly called the heptarchy, were at last gathered into one under the King of Wessex. But the ecclesiastical unification preceded the civil one, and prepared the way for it. If Englishmen, considered as churchmen, even when subjects of different kingdoms, could be under one archbishop, there was evidently a possibility of their being, when considered as citizens, under one king. In some respects the reverse was the case, and the Church followed the lead of the State; *e.g.*, the limits of the ancient dioceses in the main followed the limits of the still more ancient kingdoms.

Although the short reign of the absentee king, Richard I., does not supply much material to the historian of the constitution of the Church, one fact is pointed out by Dr Makower, not without a touch of humour. In 1198 the collection of a land tax was ordered, from which ecclesiastical possessions were not exempted, with the exception of the *libera feoda* of parish churches. The monks protested that monastic lands were exempt. "By way of answer the king proclaimed that thenceforth no man who had done an injury to clerk or regular should be obliged to give satisfaction to the injured. This was enough to extract payment from the monks (Hoveden, iv.

66). The same procedure on the part of kings in dealing with refusals of the clergy to contribute to taxes often recurs in later times."

The sketch of the pre-Reformation period of the English Church is not continued beyond the reign of Edward III. The passing of the *Statutum de provisoribus* and of the *Statutum contra adnullatores Judiciorum Curiae Regis*, sometimes called "the first *praemunire* act," is treated by Dr Makower as closing the development of the constitution prior to the revolutionary period of Henry VIII. The first of these struck at the usurpations of Rome in regard to ecclesiastical appointments; the second rendered appeals to the Pope penal in cases of which the kings could take cognizance. These two laws, passed in 1351 and 1353, were followed by a third, which completed the anti-papal policy in 1366, when the feudal tribute, conceded to the Pope by the miserable John in 1333, was again demanded. Parliament declared that John's concession was null and void, for the barons had never consented to it. "From that time forth the Popes ceased to claim the tribute. That England was, in temporal matters, independent of Rome was never afterwards seriously questioned."

The Reformation period, beginning with Henry VIII. and ending with Elizabeth, is rapidly sketched. Henry's policy of endeavouring to sever the kingdom of England from all connexion with the See of Rome, without making any other considerable changes, is clearly pointed out. But it is not so clearly pointed out how this policy was doomed to failure. What Henry wanted was "Popery without the Pope"; *i.e.*, he wanted the ecclesiastical and political independence of England, but he did not want any reform of doctrine and ritual. But Roman doctrine and Roman jurisdiction had grown up side by side, bound together by endless ties of causation, although in many cases it might be difficult to say which was cause and which was effect. To try to retain papal dogmas and reject papal influence was like wishing for rain without clouds. To have modified both would have been possible, as the present position of Roman Catholicism in different parts of the world shows: but to keep the one intact while the other was entirely discarded was an impossibility.

From a German writer we might have expected some remarks upon the points of contrast between the Reformation in England and the Reformation in Germany; but Dr Makower is too intent upon the history of the English Church to stop to make any comparisons. As he closes his sketch of the pre-Reformation period with the death of Edward III., so he closes that of the post-Reformation period with the expulsion of James II., and its immediate consequences. These "mark the close of a great chapter

in the history of the Established Church. It had maintained at all points the independent constitution gained at the Reformation; it had finally excluded from its camps on the one hand the Papists, on the other the advanced Protestant sections; and it had secured itself against further intrusion of these alien elements. From this time forth neither Papists nor Protestant sectaries could struggle for preponderance *in* the Church with the hope of drawing it over to themselves. Both were now compelled to build up their own organizations outside the Church, to struggle for equality with it, or to dominate it, if they could dominate it, *from without.* Their struggles thus leave from henceforth the constitutional principles of the Church untouched; their attacks are directed solely against the privileges enjoyed in the State by the Established Church."

In mentioning the attempt at the present time "to wrest from the Church its last important advantage—its endowment," the author expresses no opinion one way or the other as to the merits of the struggle. And in the sketch of the Church in Ireland no opinion is hazarded as to whether disestablishment there has proved beneficial or otherwise. Merely the facts of the change are recorded (pp. 138 *ff.*).

Perhaps the least satisfactory section in the volume is that on "the Relation of the Reformed Church of England to the Church in England before the Reformation." The heading of the section, with the change of preposition—"of" to "in"—tells us what to expect. Dr Makower regards the breaking away from the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome as fatal to continuity. "This step must be accounted revolutionary, and indicative of a distinct breach with the past. A parallel case would be the declaration by a federal state that it would no longer obey the ordinances of the central power." Let us accept the parallel. Would the Canton of Basle cease to be the Canton of Basle if it declared itself independent of the central government at Berne? Members of the canton would retain their cantonal rights and property as before. There would be no transfer of property from Switzerland to the Canton of Basle. The cantonal offices would be held by the same persons and discharged in much the same way. There would be no break in the corporate life of the canton. In the same way, there was no break made at the Reformation in the corporate life of the English Church. Dr Makower must know that both before and after that crisis the historical title of our communion is "English Church" or "Church of England," not "Church *in* England."[1] He himself

[1] Comp. the famous provision in Magna Carta: *quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit, et habeat jura sua integra;* and the Preface to the Thirty-Nine Articles in the Latin form of 1571, and "His Majesty's Declaration."

points out that "the ecclesiastical offices in the country . . . remained nearly unaltered. The real changes which ensued relate almost exclusively to the connexion of the National Church with the Pope." He does not seem to know E. A. Freeman's tract on the subject; and the paper by the Bishop of Peterborough is subsequent to this work. Either of these would give him more accurate views on a rather tangled subject.

The work has some useful appendices, and perhaps the most useful portion of the whole volume is the Conspectus of Literature given in Appendix XIV. pp. 504-534. This is admirable, both in design and execution. An immense number of the best authorities, both original and modern, are given; and they are all carefully classified under a variety of heads. To be well acquainted with the contents of these thirty pages would be no mean preparation for the study of that subject of which Dr Makower has given us so excellent an outline. Even if the main body of the work were of a very inferior quality, this critical survey of sources and helps would make the volume of great value. ALFRED PLUMMER.

The Communion of the Christian with God: A Discussion in Agreement with the Views of Luther.

By Willibald Herrmann, Dr Theol., Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the University of Marburg. Translated from the Second thoroughly revised Edition, with special Annotations by the Author, by J. Sandys Stanyon, M.A. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.

Theological Translation Library, Vol. IV.; 8vo., pp. xvii. 261. *Price,* 10*s.* 6*d.*

THIS work was noticed in this Review on the appearance of the first edition in German, but it is of such importance and value that those who are already acquainted with it in that form will not grudge its being introduced anew to English readers, especially as it has undergone some alteration and addition. I do not, however, intend to examine the differences between this and the former edition, but simply to give some account and estimate of its scope and contents for those who may now first make acquaintance with it. It is the more welcome because its subject belongs to a department in which German theologians have done comparatively little—that of experimental religion—to which the Puritan divines and their successors gave so much deep thought and careful study; and surely it is of the utmost importance, not only for practical piety, but for securing that theological discussions be not mere specula-

tions or abstract doctrines, that the foundation of all real theology, the soul's personal relation to God, be rightly explained and understood. For Dr Herrmann treats the subject in a way somewhat different from that of Owen or Jonathan Edwards. They in their practical treatises assumed the truths about God and Christ revealed in the Bible, and sought to show how the soul is brought into a relation to God that is truly blessed and saving, and how that may be experimentally tested. But in an age like this, in which there is so much serious questioning about the being of God and the possibility of a personal relation to Him, a thorough examination of the subject could not simply start from these as postulates, but must give account of the way in which they are known. Hence this work presents a combination of topics that have usually been treated separately. We are accustomed to discussions of how we know that God is and has a personal relation to us, and also to practical treatises on the way of coming to a right relation of peace, hope, and joy in God: but here we have both treated together, and this is the explanation of some things in Herrmann's book that seem at first strange and perplexing.

The Introduction, dealing with the true function of theological doctrine, and Book I., "Christianity *v.* Mysticism," may be more conveniently referred to later: we come to Herrmann's main position in Book II., where he maintains that God communes with us only through Jesus Christ. This means that in the person and life of Jesus, as we are constrained to believe that these are truly represented in the Gospels, we perceive a manifestation of God, so that we cannot doubt that He is, and that He is coming to us in love. This is very convincingly and beautifully described, and all earnest Christians may gladly recognise its truth. All, too, will admit, that it is only through Jesus Christ that God communes with us so as to give us true peace and blessing, and our author has this in view, though not this only. For he maintains that it is only through the life of Christ that we have any real knowledge of God at all; and here many will be unable to follow him, for we have been accustomed to think that we have a knowledge of God through His works and in the voice of our conscience, which precedes the revelation given in Christ, however much this may transcend it. But Herrmann, in maintaining his position, is animated by the true and most important conviction that we must, above all things, have perfectly sure ground for what we believe; and he is anxious to guard against the idea that in order to have communion with God we must first believe a series of doctrines, *e.g.*, "that God made the world, that mankind are descended from a single pair, that God's Son became a man, that God's demand for the punishment of the guilty has been satisfied by the death of His Son, and

finally, that all this was done for your sake" (p. 52). Now it is most true that real intercourse with God does not depend on the belief of such doctrines; on the contrary, no one can believe them on real and good grounds unless he has first had direct communion with God. For the sake of honesty and truth in religion, it is well done to emphasise this. But does it follow that there is no way in which we become directly aware of God save through the historical person of Jesus? When our author's attention is directed to the multitudes of mankind who do not know Jesus, he explains that he does not deny that the Gentiles have some knowledge of God, but that he cannot tell how; and that for us, in our historical position, Jesus Christ is alone the fact in which God reveals himself to us and comes into communion with us. For, he proceeds, there exists in us a hindrance to the religious life, of which men were quite ignorant in olden times, that deepening of the moral consciousness which has come about, and the consequent moral need (p. 54). True; but is not this moral sense a communication of God to us? Does He not speak directly to us when, like Kant, we find Him through conscience? The sense of sin and alienation is indeed a proof that, apart from Jesus, we can have no peaceful and friendly communion with God; but it seems to me itself to imply that we feel and know God to be speaking to us directly of his displeasure against us for sin. While, therefore, I welcome Herrmann's earnest and convincing statement, that God does speak to us through the history of Jesus, and that thus only have we peaceful fellowship with him, I am not prepared to deny that there is a real knowledge and personal relation given through conscience, and in a measure through nature also.

Great stress is laid in this work on the assertion that it is through a historical fact that God communes with us, and at some points the suspicion is apt to arise that he means merely that in an event of the past we get a conviction of God's presence, without recognising Christ as present to us now. But ere long we find that that would be a very unjust suspicion, and misrepresent the author's meaning. He expressly teaches that the inner life of Jesus is now present before our souls, and that God works on us by the spiritual power of Jesus (p. 92). While, therefore, he contemplates almost exclusively the earthly life of Jesus, he avoids the fatal error of a merely humanitarian view, that of making our Saviour a mere departed man. He believes that He is living now, able to help and bless us. Only he insists that we should always look at Him through His earthly life, because as to His present activity we have only general statements, and those actions of His that reveal His character and will, all belong to His life on earth. It is perhaps an excessive dread of an unreal mysticism that prompts to so strong an

assertion of our communion with God being through a historical fact; but the position seems on the whole a sound one, and favourable to a due appreciation of the value of the gospel records. He has some very true and beautiful remarks on the difference of true love to the real Jesus and a mere emotional sentiment.

In Christ as thus known, God is not merely made known to our minds, but we come into true and saving fellowship with Him, and are convinced that His God is our God. We find in Jesus a God who forgives us, and "as soon as we become aware that God is teaching us in the personal life of Jesus, and so making us certain of Himself, then at once we feel that we have entered upon a new course of life" (p. 92). Herrmann's view seems to be somewhat like that of Maurice, that conversion or salvation comes through our simply coming to see what God is, and has always been, towards us; and this is open to the serious objection that it leaves no room for an intelligent personal dealing with God in the way of reconciliation. When he describes how a man grows up to find the need of a surer knowledge of God than his early Christian teaching can give, he shows how he may lose his hold of God, and living in carelessness feel as if God had forsaken him; but he does not seem to admit the possibility of being terribly certain of the reality of God, and yet knowing and feeling that He is angry with us for our sin. So he states the Reformers' notion of redemption to be, that it arises from the vision of a fact when the understanding of that fact is always accompanied by a complete change in our inner life—in other words, by a rearrangement of our conscious relation towards God (p. 136). If by the qualification "conscious" it is meant to be denied that there is a change in our real relation to God, this seems to me an incorrect statement.

The right understanding of the Christian's communion with God has, in Herrmann's view, been much hindered by mysticism and by the insistence on the acceptance of theological dogmas as a prerequisite for that communion; and a good part of his treatise is occupied by a discussion of these subjects. The essence of mysticism, he says, consists in this, that certain impressions on our feelings are taken to be evidence, apart from anything objective, that the soul is possessed by God; and that, as he points out, is indifferent to any historical facts, and so is not distinctively Christian, and feels even the facts and doctrines of Christianity to be burdensome in the high flights of devotional feeling. This is congenial to the Roman Catholic Church, because its doctrines are arbitrarily imposed, and so can only be regarded as necessary means in order to come to God, which may and must be lost sight of, when we do actually come into that direct contact with God through feeling. He does not deny that in all real religion there is a

direct communion with God through the heart and its emotions; only he maintains that, in order to be truly Christian, and secure against mere fancy, we must find God in the real historical Jesus. This estimate of mysticism seems just and true; though it may be observed that the name is often used for that element in it that is good, and essential to heart religion; and therefore it is well, in passing any judgment on mysticism, to make clear what we mean.

Herrmann is very jealous of any use of Christian doctrine of the same kind as that of the Roman Catholic Church where it has caused the expression of piety to be of a mystical character. On this ground, as well as to defend his own theological position, he controverts at some length the view that, in order to have communion with God through Christ, we must first believe the deity and atonement of Christ. This polemic strikes a stranger as overdone; but possibly it may be necessitated by the popular religious tendencies in Germany; and it is right in itself; for we certainly do not need to come through theological doctrine to saving faith in Christ, and the healthier way is to come through direct faith to the understanding of the doctrine of His deity. At the same time, the importance of true doctrine in its own place is not overlooked; while the danger is pointed out of simply accepting and insisting on theological formulas, when the real faith that they were meant to express is absent. But he sometimes criticises Church doctrines in a way that seems very unfair, as when he seems to represent the current doctrine of Christ's deity as meaning "that a divine substance was bound up with the man Jesus" (p. 128). Though the technical term "substance" has, perhaps unhappily, come to be used in defining the doctrine, no intelligent Trinitarian understands by it anything really different from God Himself in the fulness of His attributes. Herrmann, indeed, admits that his conception of the deity of Christ is different from that of the Church doctrine; but so far as I can understand him, it seems to me that he misinterprets that doctrine, by taking "substance" to mean something concrete distinct from God Himself. Some theologians have held this, but it seems to me to be a mischievous inheritance from scholasticism. So Herrmann regards the Protestant doctrine of Atonement as defective, because it only teaches that Christ's work makes it possible for God to forgive sins, but does not give us assurance of actual forgiveness. This criticism is just, as against all theories of mere vague and general redemption, but not against the Reformed doctrine of an atonement that directly secures, to all who believe in Christ, actual forgiveness, which they can grasp at once by receiving Christ and experiencing the peace of reconciliation to God.

It will be seen from what has been said that this book is a very

important one, all the more because it is a good representative of the school of theology that has been originated by Ritschl, a school which, besides the great learning and ability of its members, has done, in various ways, good service to religious thought. For its earnestness in protesting against mere metaphysical doctrines and basing faith on religious experience, and for asserting the importance and value of the historical facts of the life of our Saviour, it deserves great praise; though one cannot help feeling that in abjuring all natural theology it leaves our belief to rest on a too narrow and insecure foundation, especially in view of the extent to which critical doubts are admitted as to the Gospel narratives. There is also a danger of going too far in the attempt to eliminate metaphysics from theology, and casting out the substance along with the form.

The editors of the Theological Translation Library have made a good selection in including this book in their series. They have also published it in a form much more easily intelligible to the reader by breaking it up into sections with appropriate headings. In the original German edition in 200 pages there were only four divisions with very general titles, so that it was very difficult to follow the line of thought and distinguish its successive stages; now in the translation it is very carefully divided, not only into smaller chapters, but into numbered paragraphs, with a marginal title to each, and a full table of contents. The translation is also exceedingly well done, faithful and correct, and at the same time clear and good English, so that it may be read with comfort and pleasure, and confidence of its truly representing the original.

JAS. S. CANDLISH.

The Book of Psalms.

A Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in colours, with Notes by J. Wellhausen. English translation of the Notes by J. D. Prince. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895. *Pp.* 96 *quarto. Price,* 6*s.*

[*Part* 14 *in Professor Paul Haupt's series of "The Sacred Books of the Old Testament."*]

IN this book Professor Wellhausen has undertaken a task of extreme difficulty, a task for which he is perhaps better qualified than any other scholar now living. It is hardly necessary to state that of all the books of the Old Testament the Psalter is the most obscure. Not only do we find in it many passages of doubtful meaning, but, what is much more serious, we are, for the most part, entirely in the dark as to the origin of the pieces contained in it; there are no two complete psalms of which we can say with confi-

dence that they were written by the same author, or even at the same period. Moreover, examination shows that what appears to be a single psalm may in reality be a compound of two or more poems which originally had nothing to do with one another. Hence it follows that the textual criticism of the Psalter is very much more precarious than that of some other books, such as Ezekiel for example, where the text is possibly no less corrupt; for, as a general rule, the certainty with which we can emend corrupt passages must be in proportion to our knowledge of the ideas and the style of the author.

The edition before us bears witness not only to the genius and learning but still more to the caution and sobriety of judgment by which Professor Wellhausen is pre-eminently distinguished. Very many passages are left blank, and in the notes the editor frankly confesses that he can neither explain nor emend the text (*e.g.* Ps. ii. 12, viii. 2, xii. 7, xvii. 11, xxxii. 9, xxxv. 15, lviii. 10, lxxi. 15). The same modesty, which most of his opponents would do well to imitate, appears in his treatment of individual words, *e.g.* סלה (see note on Ps. iii. 3), למנצח (iv. 1), נחית (viii. 1), חלכה (x. 8), פסנ (xlviii. 14), אמילם (cxviii. 10-12). In fact there are few books more calculated to exemplify the truth of the opinion expressed some years ago by another great biblical scholar, Professor Nöldeke —"It will be seen more and more clearly that in many places the text of the Old Testament is corrupt beyond all hope of emendation, that, in particular, many individual words are open to the gravest suspicion, and finally, that numerous passages are unintelligible, though they may have been handed down to us correctly" (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1886, p. 743).

It is needless to say that Professor Wellhausen has adopted very many of the emendations suggested by his predecessors, especially Olshausen and Paul de Lagarde. In the very important passage, Ps. xlv. 7, he follows Professor Bruston in substituting יהיה "shall endure" for אלהים "God"; it may be mentioned in passing that the objection urged by Professor Nowack (in the third edition of Hupfeld's *Psalmen*) against this reading is refuted by Ps. lxxxix. 37; Is. li. 6; Eccles. iii. 14. Perhaps a few more conjectures might with advantage have been adopted, or at least cited in the notes, *e.g.* וְתָם for וְשָׁם Ps. l. 23 (Graetz, Geiger), אֱלֹהֵי שִׁוְעָתִי for אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁוָעָתִי Ps. lxxxviii. 2 (Weir, Graetz, Bickell), מִים יַעֲמֹדוּ for מִי יַעֲמֹד Ps. cxlvii. 17 (J. Derenbourg)—though of course in such cases there is room for great difference of opinion. The text contains a large number of emendations which, so far as I know,

appear here for the first time, but how many of these are due to Professor Wellhausen is not easy to determine, since some emendations made long ago (*e.g.* קוֹלָם for קָוָם, Ps. xix. 5, יִכָּלְמוּ for יִכְלוּ, Ps. lxxi. 13) are accepted without any statement of the sources whence they are derived.

In conclusion, I venture to offer a few suggestions on particular passages. In Ps. vii. 9 Prof. Wellhausen adheres to the Masoretic text; but עָלַי comes in very strangely, as is proved by the conflicting explanations of the commentators. Perhaps we should read עֲנֵנִי and connect כְּצִדְקִי with the preceding words (שפטני יהוה) rather than with those which follow. In Ps. ix. 7 Prof. Wellhausen rightly doubts the accuracy of the text, and suggests (as has been done by several other critics) that the last word (הֵמָּה) is the beginning of a fresh sentence. The preceding words may possibly be emended thus—

הָיוּ בָתֵּימוֹ חרבות לנצח
וְעָרֵימוֹ נִחֲשֹׁת אבד זכרם

"Their dwellings have become desolations for ever,
And their cities are demolished, their memory hath perished."

In Ps. xiv. 4 and liii. 5 Prof. Wellhausen substitutes אֲכוֹל לחם for אָכְלוּ לחם. But as the words occur without variation in *both* forms of the Psalm a minimum of change is desirable, and the consonants of the text admit also of being read אָכֹל וְלֹחֵם "eating and feasting." The verb לָחַם, originally "to make a meal" (Prov. xxiii. 1), is more emphatic than the ordinary אָכַל, and implies the idea of enjoyment (Ps. cxli. 4). In Ps. xlv. 13 Prof. Wellhausen follows Olshausen in supposing that a whole sentence has been omitted. Perhaps it is legitimate to conjecture that the first half of the verse should be—ובת צר[תֵּקְרַ]ב מנחה "and the daughter (*i.e.* the City) of Tyre shall present a gift"; owing to the similarity of the two consecutive groups of letters תקר תצר, the second group might easily drop out. On Ps. lxviii. 3 Prof. Wellhausen remarks "תנדף is impossible." I would propose to read כְּהִנָּדֵף עָשָׁן תִּנּוֹר "as the smoke of a furnace is blown away," cf. the phrase כעשן הכבשן (Exod. xix. 18). It is unnecessary to insert מִפְּנֵי רוּחַ, or anything of the kind, as some have suggested, because the idea is sufficiently expressed by the verb נדף, cf. עֲלֶה נִדָּף (Lev. xxvi. 36; Job xiii. 25) and קַשׁ נִדָּף (Is. xli. 2). In Ps. lxix. 15 מִשְּׂנֵאַי is retained by Prof. Wellhausen in spite of the difficulty which it presents. On

the other hand, one of the most recent commentators on the Psalms, Prof. Baethgen, simply strikes out the word, together with the following ו, as a gloss. It would be but a slight change to read מִשְּׁאוֹן "from the roaring flood" (cf. Ps. xl. 3, lxv. 8; Is. xvii. 12), and this entirely harmonizes with the context.

A. A. BEVAN.

Sanctuary and Sacrifice: A Reply to Wellhausen.

By the Rev. W. L. Baxter, M.A., D.D., Minister of Cameron, N.B. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. Pp. xviii. 511. *Price,* 6*s.*

OUR author opens his preface by stating, that "if the object aimed at by this volume were attained, it would certainly go a considerable way towards a very appreciable resolving of one of the keenest perplexities by which the Bible student has been bewildered in quite recent years." The immediate context and the book generally show that this perplexity is as to whether the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is still tenable. It is to be appreciably resolved by showing that each of two main lines of argument against such authorship is utterly worthless, both as a whole and in every link of reasoning, and every jot and tittle of the evidence on which it jests. In this last sentence we are not quoting actual words of Dr Baxter, but this is, at the utmost, only a slightly exaggerated summary of the claims made by the book in numerous sentences quite as strong as our own.

"Sanctuary and Sacrifice" is a minute and exhaustive criticism and attempted refutation of the arguments in the sixty-six pages of Wellhausen's *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, dealing with "The Place of Worship" and "Sacrifice." The first (and much briefer) part on "Sanctuary" has already appeared in *The Thinker*. Dr Baxter claims to have shown in this part, "by a comprehensive view of the historical books, that centralisation (*i.e.*, as regards places of worship) from Sinai onwards can be challenged by Wellhausen, only by denying, *without a shred of proof* (the italics are Dr Baxter's), the plainest and most reiterated statements of the Jewish historians." Similar claims are made for the much longer part on Sacrifice, in which Dr Baxter deals with Wellhausen's arguments as to the evidence with regard to the materials and different denominations of sacrifice in the Pentateuch, the History, and the Prophets. Apart from numerous references elsewhere, two chapters are devoted to the relation of Ezekiel to the Priestly Code. According to Dr Baxter, he has routed Wellhausen all along the line. Of Wellhausen's treatment of Lev. i. he writes: "Is it possible to read such facts without exclaiming,

What a pompous imposture!" And, after wrestling with Wellhausen for more than four hundred pages, he says of him: "Our author really hardly resembles a responsible investigator at all: he is more like a child sporting among valuables and 'chucking' them about at its pleasure." The last sentence is a key to explain the weakness of this volume. Dr Baxter would have produced a much better book if he had credited Wellhausen with possessing ordinary intelligence and exercising average care. As it is, our author often discovers baseless assumptions and glaring inconsistencies where a little reflection and investigation would have shown that, to say the least, the assumptions are anything but baseless and the inconsistencies are far from glaring. In many ways "Sanctuary and Sacrifice" is able and interesting. On some questions Dr Baxter's conclusions, and even a proportion of his arguments, would be endorsed by critics who accept the documentary theory of the Pentateuch; but we do not think that the book will do much to overthrow that theory, especially as regards those parts of it which are held in common by such critics as Wellhausen, Dillmann, and Kittel.

W. H. Bennett.

Ménégoz on the Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

La Théologie de L'Epitre aux Hébreux. Par Eugène Ménégoz, Professeur a la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Paris. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 8*vo*, *pp.* 298.

This is a very able and scholarly exposition of the theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews. On the points usually treated in introductions to the Books of Scripture nothing of a novel character is to be expected, and the author is too good a scholar to assume an unreal knowledge. The readers are Jewish Christians, probably living in a city under Jewish influences. But where it was we do not know, and we must resign ourselves to ignorance on the point. We only know that the Epistle makes no allusion to Gentile Christians as forming any part of the Church. We are not quite sure that this is so. Does not *μέτοχοι* in iii. 1 mean "partakers with Gentile Christians in a heavenly call?" It will then correspond to *συμμέτοχοι* of Eph. iii. 6. The writer also is unknown. We know he was not Paul; and in one chapter the author gives several reasons—some satisfactory, others far from being satisfactory—for rejecting the Pauline authorship. For instance, the author maintains that the doctrine of substitution in the atonement of Christ is found in Paul's teaching, but does not form part of the teaching of this Epistle. Again, this reacts on the

conception which each writer presents of faith. According to Paul, faith is the mystical identification of the believer with Christ in his death, resurrection and heavenly life. But according to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the sacrifice of Christ is a perfect realisation of the typical sacrifices of the old covenant. He who approaches Christ spiritually with confidence of heart benefits by his sacrifice. Instead of the Pauline ideas of enmity and reconciliation, we have in this Epistle the notions of purification and perfection; and the notion of justification has no place in this writer's theological system. To Paul's eyes the Gospel and the Law are absolute antitheses, as liberty and enslavement. Christ became the end of the law to them that believe. But the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews regarded the Gospel as transfiguring the Law. In these suggestive remarks the author is at one with many expositors, who equally with himself consider them absolutely decisive against the ascription of the Epistle to Paul, and favourable to the view that the writer was a Judæo-Alexandrian Christian. We observe a seeming inconsistency between what our author says in two places about the religious similarity and the theological differences of view of the Epistle and St Paul's writings.

But in the very first chapter we come across what we cannot but consider the fundamentally incorrect views of our author in his account of the teaching of the Epistle concerning the person of Christ. We are not now complaining of his ascribing a different and inconsistent doctrine to the writer when compared with that of Paul and other portions of the New Testament. Neither do we expect him to accept the Pauline character of the Christology of the Epistle. Let it be a contrast to Paul's doctrine. But we do not think he correctly analyses the teaching of the Epistle on the subject. According to M. Ménégoz, Christ is represented as a creature who came into personal existence before all other celestial beings, and has ever since occupied by God's favour the first rank among them. He was not a divine emanation, but a created spirit, who is called Son in a metaphorical sense. He was an intermediary or Mediator in the creation, conservation and salvation of the world. The Epistle, says our author, makes no allusion to the essential deity of the Son. God is regarded as absolutely one and essentially distinct from the universe, including his Son. The Son's "fellows" are the higher spirits. In the same way Christ is said to be the first among men, who are called for that reason his "brethren." All the references to Christ in the first chapter of the Epistle are, in our author's opinion, to the pre-existent, not the incarnate, Son, and he says the idea of an incarnation of a Divine Hypostasis has no place in the argument. The writer is full of Platonic conceptions, among which is the impossibility of the immediate contact of

the divine with matter. After this it goes without saying that the writer of the Epistle rejects the Son's virgin birth. In what manner he became incarnate the Epistle does not tell us. It will be seen that M. Ménégoz thinks the nearest approach to the doctrine of the Epistle is that of the Arians, and that the ascription to it of the Nicene theology is an optical illusion.

Without arguing the dogmatic question in this place, we must be content to point out that our author, so far as we have observed, nowhere mentions the theory of the Kenosis. We are convinced that he would have had less difficulty in admitting the essential deity of the Son as the doctrine of the Epistle, and in fairly explaining several expressions in the Epistle, if he had seriously set himself to the task of discussing the theory we have mentioned. This fundamental failure affects his treatment of other subjects, the understanding of which depends on our conception of the person of the Son of God. If Christ was only a creature, and if the difference between the Levitical and Christ's sacrifice is not in the conception itself of sacrifice but in the respective value of the victims, why was Christ's surrender of His own life infinitely precious in the sight of God? And again, how can faith in Christ, in the ultimate analysis, be identical with faith in God, unless we find a place for Christ within the sphere of Trinity? The assertion that the writer of the Epistle accepted the Greek doctrine that there is no contact possible between God and matter M. Ménégoz makes no attempt to prove. It is true that we find this idea in Philo, and to him an incarnation of God would have appeared monstrous. But that only shews what a great chasm lies between Philo on the one hand and a Christian writer who uses the very words of Philo to express new and startling ideas. The Logos of Philo was ideal, the man Christ Jesus was a real person. Some one must have appeared in human history to make it possible for the Christian Church to bridge the chasm. Knowledge of this personage was the background of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and made the writer, though a philosopher like Philo, yet a Christian believer in Jesus at the same time. Philonism was a dead system, and, apart from a belief in the facts presupposed by the Epistle, it is quite impossible to account for the life and character of such a man as Clement, Bishop of Rome, or of Ignatius or Polycarp. This makes the large collection of passages from Philo which M. Ménégoz has brought together a mass of illustrative matter, and nothing more. The fact that so large a portion of the Epistle to the Hebrews consists of citations made from other books, both the Old Testament, and the Apocryphal writings and Philo, gives a profounder meaning to its Christology and imparts a new life to what it has borrowed. Great events, like the incarnation of God, not only cast

their shadow before them, but create an atmosphere in which they can move and make themselves visible to men, whether it takes the form of a revelation, or a happy guessing, or an obscure anticipation. The Christian writer can speak of all such predictions with the triumphant words, "This is that which was spoken by prophets, by heathen poets, by partially inspired philosophers." The world expected the coming of the Messiah, and God has not disappointed men's pious expectations.

The absence of an Index is much to be regretted. Perhaps we must ascribe to this our having failed to find any allusion in the volume to the doctrine of the Kenosis. T. C. EDWARDS.

Abriss des Biblischen Aramäisch. Grammatik, nach Handschriften berichtigte Texte, Woerterbuch.

Von Prof. D. Hermann L. Strack. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1896. *Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.* 32 + 47 *pp.* 8*vo.* *Price, M.*1.60.

Einleitung in das Alte Testament einschliesslich Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen mit eingehender Angabe der Litteratur.

Von D. Hermann L. Strack. Vierte, ganz neu bearbeitete Auflage. Muenchen: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1895. *Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Large* 8*vo, pp. viii.* 219. *Price, M.*3.60.

THE aim of the first of these two books, the latest work of this indefatigable scholar, may be said to be two-fold, to provide a brief but scientific grammar of Biblical Aramaic, and likewise a text of the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament, more accurate than even the text of Baer. With regard to the first of these, it might be said that the excellent work of Professor Kautzsch (*Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Leipzig, 1884) is exhaustive and final, at least for this generation. But, on the other hand, does not this very virtue of exhaustiveness render it less suitable for the practical work of the Hebrew class-room? And in any case, open Strack's compendium where one may, it will be found to be an entirely independent work, and not in any sense an excerpt from the larger work, which must always retain its value for purposes of consultation. Brief—only 24 pages—as is the space which Strack devotes to the accidence (syntax he does not include), there will be found

not a few places where fresh light has been thrown on difficult forms; see, for example, the small print in § 12b.

With regard, in the second place, to the text here provided, it is based on that of Baer, controlled and, where necessary, modified by a careful collation of four ancient manuscripts, described in the preface, pp. 4, 5. A few condensed footnotes call attention to variety of reading or accentuation, with occasional reference to the latest commentaries (*e.g.*, Bevan, Behrmann), and apposite magazine articles. The glossary (pp. 30*-46*), though also condensed, is sufficient. I am not sure, however, that there is so much necessity for this portion of the work, seeing we have now two excellent dictionaries, Gesenius-Buhl and Siegfried-Stade, and am inclined to think that the space would have been more profitably occupied by a large addition to the philological and other notes above referred to.

The very moderate price of the book puts it within the reach of every student.

The second volume, the *Einleitung*, is at least a living book, to judge by the rate at which it grows. When first published in 1883 as part of Zoeckler's *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, it filled but eighty pages of that useful compendium; in the off-print from the third edition of the Handbook (1888) it had grown to a hundred and thirteen pages, and now it has broken away from the parent work and started on an independent career almost as a new work of the size given above. The first of the many improvements to catch the eye is the substitution of Roman type for the somewhat inelegant Gothic of the earlier editions; the contents have been broken up into numbered sections, an arrangement which will facilitate reference from one part of the work to another. The general arrangement of the book remains as before, "special" Introduction (pp. 15-161), being followed by "general" (pp. 162-196), the whole preceded by a few sections on the scope, history, and literature of Old Testament Introduction, and followed by a most valuable bibliography of philological and exegetical "helps" to the study of the Old Testament (pp. 197-219). The plan of the work, it may be added, has been widened, as indicated on the title-page, so as to include a couple of necessarily brief chapters on the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha. On the other hand, the author's standpoint has undergone no essential change; Professor Strack remains as before, accepting frankly and fearlessly the methods of the new criticism, but prepared to show that these methods do not always yield the results claimed by the Wellhausen school. For him, as for Wellhausen and the rest, there are five main sources of our present Pentateuch, but *all* are pre-exilic, and

all, even P, contain much more genuinely historical matter than it is now the fashion to allow to them. Yet a comparison of this edition of the *Einleitung* with the earlier ones shows a considerably greater readiness to make concessions to the left wing (if one may so say), than was the case a few years ago.

From the summary of the contents just given it will be seen that the larger part of Dr Strack's work is devoted to a discussion of the contents and critical problems of the various books of the Old Testament. Of these the Pentateuch naturally receives the largest share of attention. Of the sections devoted to it (pp. 15-59), the two most valuable will be found to be § 9, which gives a brief *exposé* of the theories of the more notable Pentateuch critics, and § 11, entitled "Vocabulary (Sprachgebrauch) of the five main Sources" (pp. 42-51). This section alone represents a vast amount of patient work on the author's part, and by an ingenious but perfectly simple arrangement the student can see at a glance in which source or sources a particular characteristic word or phrase (1) occurs, or (2) occurs frequently, or (3) does not occur. Nothing, it seems to me, is more likely to convert an opponent of Pentateuch analysis from the error of his ways than a study of this section of Strack's *Einleitung*. The pity is it is not yet accessible in English.

In regard to other books, also, our author will always be found on the conservative side. None of these has in this new edition received such ample treatment as the book of Isaiah (3rd ed. 3 pp.; 4th ed. 10 [somewhat smaller] pp.), the last twenty-seven chapters being still treated as all from the same pen, although admittedly at three different dates (p. 85). The chapter devoted to the Hagiographa opens with three most useful sections, particularly the first (§ 48), which gives a practically exhaustive survey of the literature on Hebrew poetry from Lowth and Herder to our own time, and the last (§ 50) on "the forms of Old Testament poetry." The sentence, in former editions, denying the existence of Maccabean psalms, has now disappeared! Another concession will be found in the section on the critical problem of the book of Daniel, where Dr Strack is now inclined to give up his former hypothesis of an Aramaic Ur-Daniel (so to say) from the time of Alexander the Great.

In the sections of the "General Introduction" devoted to the text of the Old Testament, manuscripts, editions, and the like, our author speaks with an authority which he shares with few living scholars. How much longer must we wait for the promised German edition of his "*Prolegomena Critica in Vetus Testamentum*"?

One of the features of the *Einleitung* still remains to be noticed. Not only have we valuable bibliographical lists at necessary points throughout the book, but, as was observed above, two special

chapters are appended with all needful bibliographical helps both for the prosecution of the study of any one of the Semitic dialects, and for the special study of any book or group of books in the Old Testament. In one respect, at least, the lists compare favourably with similar lists of other German scholars, they show an intimate acquaintance on the author's part with recent English literature on the Old Testament. The lists, of course, are not complete; they do not pretend to be so. But they are far and away the best of their kind. For another edition it would be well if some British or American scholar were asked to revise the proofs of these important chapters. Thus Robertson Smith is described as "Prof. in *Edinburg* (so written throughout), dann in Cambridge;" we have Samuel *Rules* Driver (so also in the dedication of Strack's Introduction to the Talmud), W. T. Dawson (for Davison), and the like.

The rapid sale of so many editions of the *Einleitung* shows that it meets a want in the country of its birth, and the present reviewer is convinced that it only needs to be better known here and in America to be not less highly appreciated.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

Jeremia's Profetieën tegen de Volkeren (Cap. xxv., xlvi.—xlix.).

Door L. K. H. Bleeker. Te Groningen, bij J. B. Wolters. 8vo, pp. 224. Price, 4s.

THOUGH this work does not pretend to give satisfactory solutions of all the perplexing questions connected with these chapters in Jeremiah, it nevertheless deserves welcome as a sober contribution to Biblical science. The most recent writers—German and English, as well as Dutch—have been consulted in the composition of this treatise, which may thus be regarded as well up to date; but the views of others have not been accepted without due consideration: it is refreshing to find a modest but firm independence of mind manifesting itself throughout.

In the discussion of this subject, the relation of the Septuagint Version to the Massoretic text necessarily demands an important place. An impartial account is given of the various positions maintained regarding this matter by different Biblical critics. In this connection, the writer justly observes that one "who, with the object of restoring the original text as far as possible, would consult the Septuagint, must first inquire into *its* original form"; and again, "the comparison [of the Massoretic text] with the Septuagint is im-

portant, not merely because we are thereby frequently enabled to determine what must have been the original reading, but also because, from the character of the deviations, we can make out the method and the principles followed by the editors and copyists in their work." When he comes, however, practically to decide for himself regarding the probable text, he does not always apply his good principles. Increased acquaintance with the character of the Greek version generally will make him more cautious.

It is rather unfortunate that the printing of the Hebrew is not satisfactory; the vowel points are often inaccurately given, and sometimes altogether omitted. Notwithstanding such defects, the work is one of substantial merit. JAMES KENNEDY.

Jean de Lasco, Baron de Pologne, Evêque Catholique, Reformateur Protestant: son Temps, sa Vie, ses Œuvres.

Par George Pascal. 8vo, pp. 304. *Paris: Fischbacher.*

M. GEORGE PASCAL has been fortunate in the subject of his first book. The life of John à Lasco was attended by every circumstance of interest which could surround a marked personality or a great career. A person and presence that attracted the attention of every observer, and made the happiest impression; a mind on an equality with the best of its time; high birth, important functions, and a wide influence; a spiritual history of deep and moving interest, and an outward life of change and adventure—these could hardly fail to make a good story. And it must be confessed that M. Pascal has used his opportunity well. The method which he has adopted is the same as was employed with such brilliant success by Mr Froude in his *Erasmus*. The hero is allowed, so far as possible, to tell his own story in his letters. The biographer supplies a straightforward narrative, in which points of fact and chronology are discussed with satisfactory clearness and in sufficient detail; and the story is completed by happily chosen passages from the letters of à Lasco and his correspondents, and other contemporary records. The result is a book of exceptional interest and charm. It belongs not only to sound history but to good art, and draws for us by simple means a convincing and life-like picture.

The life of John à Lasco was bound up with all that was most vital and influential in the history of his time. First a great prince of the Church, then the ruling spirit in a national Reformation; the pupil and patron of Erasmus, the diplomatic coadjutor of the adventurous and unfortunate Jerome à Lasco, the friend of Œcolam-

padius in Basle, the guest of Cranmer at Lambeth, the correspondent of Bullinger, Calvin, and Melanchthon; the promoter of the English Reformation, the secret agent of a projected Protestant League; the adviser of Edward VI, the spiritual father of Anne of Friesland and Albert of Prussia, the mentor of Sigismund II and arch-heretic of Poland—he had all his life to do with great affairs. And above all he exemplified and enacted in his own experience what was most profoundly characteristic of his time, namely the religious awakening and the reformation of the Church.

One of the best chapters of M. Pascal's book is his account of the indirect influence exercised by à Lasco in the course of the English Reformation. The support he gave to Hooper and his influence over Cranmer strengthened the hands of the Protestant party in that great compromise; and he was frequently consulted by the king. An interesting description is also given of the organisation of the Church of the Strangers in London—an early experiment in Presbyterianism.

All this part of his work M. Pascal does to perfection. But there is another aspect of his subject on which he is much less successful. As has just been said, à Lasco is especially interesting as a true child of the Reformation. In his case, the great change which was passing over half Europe displayed itself in a man of outstanding eminence and of bright individuality. As a member of the feudal aristocracy, a priest, a bishop faithful to his office, à Lasco represented much of what was best, something also of what was worse in the old order; as a disciple of the new learning and an apostle of the new faith he came to illustrate—with a more perfect balance, perhaps, and combination of the various elements in it than any other leading Protestant of the first generation—the very genius of Protestantism. We could wish that M. Pascal had done more to interpret to us the inner history of such a man, and the great change through which he passed.

As a contribution to the real history of the Reformation in this sense, his book cannot be said to bring much. For one thing, it is too slight. In the case of a man so typical, a man who played so many parts, and one for whose history so much material exists as is here admirably brought together, there was room for a biography on a more elaborate scale. Something of the sort was attempted a few years ago by Dr Hermann Dalton of St Petersburg; but his book was far inferior to the present work, both in scholarship and literary skill, and has besides, with reference to one all-important juncture at least of à Lasco's history, been superseded by further information (*cf.* Dalton, 221, with Pascal, 136 *ff.*). The Life of John à Lasco is still to be written.

It is certainly no fault in a book that it is not exhaustive; and

the simplicity and objectivity of M. Pascal's method constitute its charm. But his work has a more serious defect than incompleteness—a defect, namely, of psychological insight. A biography, however objective its method, has its psychological presuppositions; and these in M. Pascal's narrative are of the most conventional character. The consequence is that in more than one case he has no intelligible account to give of his hero's actions.

There is a conventional view of the Reformation, and there is a conventional view of what a Reformer's life ought to be. But the only way in which we shall ever understand the Reformation is through a fresh, first-hand, and perfectly faithful appreciation of men like à Lasco—not to speak of Luther and Erasmus: we want to make the acquaintance in a living way of as many men as possible, high and low, distinguished or (still better) common-place, who actually made the change; to know their veritable thoughts and follow the course of their experiences. And we must not be afraid of anomalies, of inconsistences, of unexpected combinations.

M. Pascal, I venture to think, is enslaved by the conventions of his subject. John à Lasco, for instance, when he returned from Basle and Italy in 1526, being then twenty-seven years of age and already full of the new ideas, thought well to silence his enemies and disarm the suspicions attaching to his intimacy with Erasmus by a formal abjuration of heresy. His biographer gives us no assistance in understanding this incident. He passes it over almost in silence. It would have been interesting to know his view of à Lasco's motives at this time. It is not to be inferred that the latter was still a good Catholic, and that the change which came afterwards was unprepared, or unconnected with his early experiences. Neither was the abjuration probably dishonest. It doubtless seemed to him, as it would have seemed to many others in his position, a perfectly natural proceeding; and we shall be on the way to understand the time when we comprehend the state of mind in which it could appear so.

In his treatment of a later incident M. Pascal gives us more serious ground of complaint, and his offence is no longer one of mere omission. It appears that in 1542, after he had abandoned his bishopric and sold most of his benefices, after his marriage and settlement in Friesland, à Lasco took advantage of a journey through Poland to lay claim to a canonry of his which had been made over to someone else. This seems to his biographer so inconsistent with all that was to be expected of a "Reformer" that he takes it upon him to dispute the authenticity of the Acts of the Chapter of Cracovia, which contain the record of the affair, and ascribes them to malicious forgery. This is very arbitrary, in face of the corroboration of the story by the independent testimony of

Hosen, who, in a letter written at the time, says 'he hears that John à Lasco has gone to Cracovia; that while not seeking to conceal his marriage, he demands the recovery of his benefices; and that he has been seen in the procession among the canons.' M. Pascal has indeed some excuse for the rejection of the story in the absurd attempt that has been made to assign to this date the formal Abjuration of 1526, and to shew that in seeking restoration to his canonry he denied reforming principles. This would certainly be hard to believe; but there is no real ground for connecting the two events. And it is not at all impossible to suppose that he may have made an experimental claim to his benefice. We know it was only an experiment, because he definitely resigned the canon's stall next year: the fact is again recorded in the Acts of the Chapter. The resumption was evidently contemplated upon certain conditions —although, naturally, that is not the way it was put by the clerk to the Chapter—under certain conditions and in certain hopes; which hopes and conditions not being fulfilled, the office was resigned again. À Lasco may have thought he had a right to the income (this view of his action seems to be supported by an authority quoted by Dalton, p. 221, to whom I have not been able to refer); he had received the money value of the other benefices he had vacated, and M. Pascal justly points out how naturally he might consider them as property seeing that all his share of a family estate had been sunk in them. And he may have hoped still within the Church to live on his own principles and carry out his ideas of reform. Hosen expressly says he 'did not deny that he was married'; and while he made no attempt to resume any of his higher offices, he hoped perhaps that as a canon he might be tolerated and let alone. The Chapter was evidently prepared, for instance, to wink at his marriage. Both for sentimental and practical reasons he may have desired to retain a humble place in the Church, and to live at peace in his native land. We know that he asked the king for permission to live and labour there according to his conscience.

The fact remains that he did not resign his canonry till 1543; and the view of the matter which has been suggested agrees with his own statement in a letter to Bullinger (1544) that he did not engage actively in the work of reform or even decide finally to break with Rome "until after the death of his brother" (1542). The same letter also supports the authenticity of the Minutes of Chapter; for he says in it, what they also represent him as having stated, that his late absence from Poland had been occupied, not in religious or political activity, but in caring for his brother's children. He goes on to tell how, soon after his brother's death, his offer to the King of Poland to engage in an evangelical ministry in his native land

had been refused; and the date of his final resignation of his last ecclesiastical office follows immediately on that disappointment.

This, we must remember, was the time when the Reformation was being organised almost within the Church; when, as M. Pascal describes (p. 169), in the same Church, at the same service, an evangelical sermon might be preached and mass said afterwards; when mass was said in the vulgar tongue; and when, although the communion was given in both kinds, the Host and the Altar were none the less superstitiously adored. It cannot be said that M. Pascal has been very successful in shewing us how men thought and felt in that transition time.

He has succeeded, however, in conveying to us the impression that in John à Lasco there was embodied much of what is best in the spirit of Protestant Christianity. Not behind any of the Reformers in the strength of his convictions, nor in readiness to make sacrifices for conviction, he was perhaps before them all in toleration. He was not, indeed, like some Reformers, indulgent towards kings and princes. He endured a double exile, long exclusion from his native land, and summary banishment from the scene of half a life-time's labours, rather than speak smoothly to the great. "Calvin," says M. Pascal, "hard on poor theologians, was not so uncompromising or severe with crowned heads, not even towards Francis I covered with the blood and ashes of the martyrs." À Lasco was able to tolerate the sects, and those who differed from him on the sacrament.

If the life of à Lasco has a lesson, it is a revelation of Protestant dogmatism. He himself mixed something of the spirit of Erasmus with that of Luther. But when he and the other refugees from England came shipwrecked, weary, and poor to Denmark—men, women, and little children—and were driven out of the country with haste and violence because they did not think with Luther on the sacrament, à Lasco met a spirit very different from his own. "At epochs of moral and social crisis," says M. Pascal—and again it is the conventional view of the Reformation which he expresses—"there is no room for reconcilers." "The example of Erasmus should have taught à Lasco." "He was not the man of the moment; there was need of rough destroyers; reconstructers and organisers like him must come afterwards" (p. 102). This sort of thing is quite in the fashion. It is true, no doubt, that rude force did the work; but that is not to say it could not have been better done. Success in the work of destruction does not relieve from responsibility for the means by which the work was done, and for all the undiscriminating blows that were struck. Those vast and volcanic forces which are so much admired require to be criticised as regards their quality, and as regards the whole of their effect.

It is quite true that a man who sees good on both sides will never make a party or a revolution, nor produce so great an effect in so short a time; and yet what he does accomplish may be a purer result and carry with it less mischief. Luther left bitter seeds of strife behind him.

The glorifying of the "man of the moment" tends to the worship of mere force and of the *fait accompli.* Perhaps if in the time of reform there had been more 'reconstructers' like à Lasco, the conditions of a free and spiritual Church Unity might not have been so entirely forgotten as they have been by dogmatic Protestantism. It may be true that Erasmus did very little. Luther did more things than one; and it was with his words that the bigots of Jutland met à Lasco and his fellow-martyrs of reform—"Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the Sacramentarian, nor standeth in the way of the Zwinglians, nor sitteth in the seat of Zurich."

Here are à Lasco's words on the same controversy: "Let us pray God that we may one day think and profess alike on this subject. Meanwhile, let us bear with one another in Christian charity and brotherhood." A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

The God-Man.

Being the "Davies Lecture" for 1895. *By T. C. Edwards, D.D., Principal of the Theological College, Bala. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr.* 8*vo, pp.* 178. *Price,* 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE Christological question is still the *crux* of a Christian system, and it is instructive to find from a book like the present—we might add, as another illustration, from the recent Gifford Lectures of the eloquent Principal of Glasgow University—that the old problems are still as living, and as capable of exciting a keen interest, as in the days of an Athanasius, a Theodore, a Cyril, or a Leo. They do so because they lie in the nature of the case, and are not factitiously created. We can understand and sympathise with the feeling of those who would fain escape from this debatable region altogether, and content themselves with the immediate Christian certainty that in Jesus Christ we have the supreme personal revelation of the love and grace of the Father. What are called the Christological controversies are certainly not the loveliest chapters in church history, and he will have a strangely constituted mind who can feel that dogmatic decisions arrived at under the conditions of some of the early councils command his entire confidence. Yet in the main—provided we start from the premiss that it is a

real Incarnation of a pre-existing Son of God that is to be upheld —it will be difficult not to agree with Herrmann in a curious passage in the first edition of his *Verkehr* to the effect that "for all who wish to go back on the question, and follow out the representation of a union of the divine and human natures in Christ, the Christological decisions of the ancient church still always mark out the limits within which such attempts must move" (p. 46).

It is not, of course, meant by this that there can be no advance made in Christology as in other departments of the theological field. The chief contrast between the ancient and the newer Christology lies perhaps in the fact that whereas the former started from the conception of the divine and human as exclusive and disparate magnitudes, and set before it the problem of attempting to unite them; the modern Christology starts rather from the essential *affinity* of the divine and human, and so finds a reasonableness in the idea of our Incarnation. This also marks the point of view from which the doctrine of the God-Man is treated by Principal Edwards in the present able Davies Lectures. His first lecture, dealing with the Incarnation and the Trinity, has for its characteristic note what he names "the humanity of Deity"—specially the idea of the Logos as the eternal prototype and ideal of man; the second lecture on the Incarnation and Human Nature starts with the corresponding assertion of the divineness of man, though in actual form it resolves itself into an endeavour to show how the Scripture doctrine of the Incarnation in its three types (John, Paul, Epistle to the Hebrews), answers to the needs of human nature for revelation, redemption, and perfection; while the third lecture discusses the problems arising out of this union of the divine and human in Christ—especially the questions of the Kenosis and of the personality of Christ's human nature. What is apt to strike one generally in reading these lectures is a singular appearance of the blending of the old and the new—a Catholic and eclectic spirit, an openness of mind to modern ideas, in combination with an adherence to old, and even old-fashioned, formulas and modes of thought, which produces a quaint and not altogether unpleasing effect, albeit the welding does not always seem perfectly accomplished. Thus the Fathers walk in company with Kant, and Hegel, and Lotze, and Caird, and Weizsäcker. We have the modern doctrine of Heredity translated into the terms of the Cocceian Covenant-theology; the doctrine of the Trinity, with the Monarchia of the Father as *Fons Trinitatis*, and the distinction of generation and procession, in combination with the idea of the Logos as the "Eternal Man," *i.e.*, the idea and archetype of humanity, with the view of a contemplated Incarnation of the Logos apart from sin, &c. In the main, however, it is a new, and liberal,

and reconstructive spirit which breathes in these lectures, giving to them a value and suggestiveness out of proportion to the size of the volume. Principal Edwards has approached his subject in a loving, earnest, reverently speculative temper, and his thoughts on the mystery of godliness are often wise and deep.

Our space hardly admits of criticism. We should have preferred had Dr Edwards proceeded *upwards* from the historical manifestation of Christ *to* the triune destruction; but he adopts the other course, and starts with the Trinity as involved in the notion of God as Love. He cites Augustine in support, but it may be observed that Augustine's use of the analogy of love is widely different from his own. We are not sure either that his doctrine of the Logos as "Eternal Man," in the form in which it is put, does not compromise somewhat the independence of the Godhead, as if the realisation in creation and humanity were a necessity of the Divine nature. The second lecture contains interesting discussions on the sinlessness of Christ and the Virgin birth, and has some good criticism of Dr Martineau, and of Professor Caird in his "Evolution of Religion." The essential point of the Pauline Christology Dr Edwards finds in the idea of "the second Adam." On the Kenosis, as on the personality of Christ's humanity, it is a little difficult to grasp the author's exact position. In his own solution of the latter problem he seems to waver between a theory which regards the Logos as *becoming* a human person, and another which views him as *assuming* a human person to himself. "The infinite Person is capable of assuming a human personality. He does not cancel or absorb it, but permits it to live on after a human fashion, even when it has been personally united with the Divine" (p. 145). This lacks clearness when combined with a doctrine of the unity of the person. JAMES ORR.

Russia and the English Church during the last Fifty Years.

Edited by W. J. Birkbeck. Published for the Eastern Church Association. London: Rivingtons, 1895. *Vol. I., pp. lviii. and* 222. *Price,* 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE title on the back of this work hardly gives sufficient clue to the contents of this the first volume. Apart from the Introduction, it consists almost entirely of a correspondence between an Englishman and a Russian, Mr William Palmer, of Magdalen College, Oxford, and M. Khomiakoff, of Moscow. The letters were exchanged at long intervals during the years from 1834 to 1844,

and the subject of discussion was the claims and position of the Eastern Church over against the Churches of England and Rome.

In his Introduction Mr Birkbeck takes for granted his readers' acquaintance with Mr Palmer, who was a conspicuous figure in the Oxford movement, but he provides us with a useful sketch of M. Khomiakoff's life and influence, which is of great interest. Khomiakoff was a layman of good education and position, trained in an atmosphere of sincere piety and deep devotion to the Holy Orthodox Church. His literary activity extended over a great variety of subjects, but his chief interest lay in the study of theology and Church history. The great work of his life, according to Mr Birkbeck, was, undoubtedly, the definite direction which he gave to the Slavophile movement in Russia in its relation to the Orthodox Church. "It is not an exaggeration to say that his theological writings have given a logical form to the idea of the Church which underlies the teaching of the Orthodox Church wherever she is met with." He insisted upon the necessity of regarding the Church less as an institution, and more as an organism, the organism of truth and love—or rather, she is truth and love as an organism. Mr Birkbeck challenges a contrast between the Russian Church as it was when Mr Palmer visited it (see *Notes* of his visit, published by Cardinal Newman) and the Russian Church of to-day, and he would ascribe much of the change and subsequent progress to the influence of Khomiakoff.

It will be seen that in one of the parties to this correspondence we have an accredited representative of his Church, and one in sympathy with its natural development. To Mr Palmer we can hardly ascribe a corresponding position in England. He must not be confused with the other William Palmer, who was also an Oxford man of the same period, and took an interest in the same subjects. This William Palmer of Magdalen was the elder brother of Lord Selborne. He is best known by his *Appeal to the Scottish Bishops* (Edin. 1849), in which he sought to draw from the Episcopalian body in Scotland an expression of willingness to unite with the Eastern Church. So far from being a champion of the Anglican position, he is found at the very opening of the correspondence in an attitude of alienation from the Church of his birth, dissatisfied with her claim to Catholicity, and seeking rest outside her borders. He was already an object of amused interest in the university, when men bestowed upon Palmer, of Magdalen, a *soubriquet*, derived from his readiness to "curse all Protestants, and the Church of England in particular."

Though the correspondence cannot be taken as representing authoritative opinion on both sides of the questions actually dividing the Churches, it offers, nevertheless, a very interesting

study of the two minds, and a useful contribution to the understanding of the Eastern Church. M. Khomiakoff takes advantage of his friend's half-hearted criticism to defend his own communion with great skill and fulness of knowledge; and he would doubtless have been sincerely gratified had he been able to clear the way for Palmer's submission to the Orthodox Church. Palmer was suffering from a sadly divided mind. On the intellectual side he was struggling with the conviction that the Greek Church was dogmatically and historically right, though morally inert. On his aesthetic and emotional side he was being steadily attracted to Rome. In the end he sacrificed his intelligence to his inclination, and made submission to the Roman See. His letters throw an interesting light on the process of such a conversion. He made a half-hearted concession to conscience by applying more than once to the Greek authorities for admission to their communion. But he took care to apply in such a quarter that he was sure to be met with a demand for Re-baptism, which he could not accept. He exonerated himself from applying to the Russian section of the Church, who would have accepted him without Re-baptism, by alleging its subservience to the State. He allowed its possession of certain notes of the Church, purity and permanence of doctrine (he was prepared to repudiate the *Filioque*), exclusiveness, and the like. But his judgment is continually being crossed by his predilections, and from time to time he discovers new notes in which the Eastern Church is lacking—missionary zeal, independence, and, finally, unity of practice in the matter of Re-baptism. Rejecting Anglicanism, and rejected by the Eastern Church, he followed the direction of least resistance, and submitted to Rome.

He made no pretence of being in intellectual harmony with the Roman See. Even in the profession of faith which he circulated among his friends, he admitted that on many important points of doctrine he still had "Greek rather than Latin convictions." But he justified himself to his conscience and to his friends by the extraordinary discovery made to him by a Roman casuist, that he could, "all the same, be received into the Roman Communion by merely suspending my private judgment, and by making up my mind to affirm nothing contrary to the known dogmas of the Roman Church, nor to entertain, by preference, any such thoughts."

M. Khomiakoff criticised very frankly this attitude. "To get rid of the difficulties of your present position you may lull your convictions to sleep. You may silence them; you will not uproot them." "Pardon me if I speak thus boldly, but the examples of Mr Newman and Mr Allies are, in my opinion, conclusive. They were certainly better Christians formerly than they are now; their

open-heartedness is gone for ever; they have crippled themselves instead of expanding." "Pray tell me, does any symbol begin by the words, 'I *will* believe' or 'I will not doubt'? Do not all of them begin by the words, 'I *do* believe'?"

Palmer had gone too far to allow himself to be influenced by sarcastic comments. Yet he was too clear-sighted to deceive himself as to their justification. He knew he was making jettison of his conscience; and his letters close with the frank and cynical avowal, "in respect to general arguments favourable to the pretensions of Catholicism, I find it *much more agreeable* to be on the side of the stronger rather than on that of the less strong." There is the ultimate motive in its bare nakedness, the motive of comfort and self-gratification, to which, as a pitiful fact, all the vaunted "Notes of the Church" actually appeal.

The chief interest of the book lies, as we have suggested, in this revelation of the psychological process underlying the conversion of Mr Palmer. But there is much else for which it will be read with interest—the discussion on the history of the *Filioque* clause, the defence of worship offered to saints, the history of the Uniat Churches, and in general the light shed upon the doctrines and ritual of the Greek Church. C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

A History of the Welsh Church

to the Dissolution of the Monasteries. By Rev. E. J. Newell. London: Elliot Stock. 8*vo, pp. xii. and* 423. *Price,* 10*s.* 6*d.*

MR NEWELL has undertaken the task of writing a history of the Welsh Church with the enthusiasm of a Welshman and the conviction of a Churchman. The task is but a thankless one, seeing that the history, when it is not a blank, bristles with controversies, the issues of which are after all of small historical, and of even less practical, importance. Of the "Church in the Roman Period," with which the volume opens, there is really not more to be said than that there was a Church and that it was independent of Rome. The chapter on the "Age of the Saints" gathers together a quantity of legendary lore and some interesting facts on the etymology of place names. Mr Newell admits frankly that "the legends of the Welsh saints were written with an ethical purpose, and have many of the characteristics of a religious novel. What evidence there is, serves only to depict a melancholy condition of demoralisation, especially in the monasteries. "If any one from drunkenness cannot sing through being unable to speak," so runs this rule of Gildas, "let him lose his supper." The Penitentials

also testify to the prevalence of the foulest crimes even among the clergy.

The material available for the subsequent period is even more scanty. In the diocese of St David's, from the era of the patron saint to the middle of the ninth century, a period of two hundred and fifty years, is an almost total blank. In St Asaph's there is distinct mention of only one Bishop between 600 and 1070. The only diocese of which a continuous history can be made out is that of Llandaff. He who writes with enthusiasm on a subject in which the material is so deficient is exposed to the serious danger of generalising from single instances, and of using as material what will not bear the test of criticism. Mr Newell has been more careful to avoid the latter than the former danger. He follows good authorities in the criticism of his sources, although the result is to throw an air of uncertainty over the earlier half of his work.

The latter half from Giraldus Cambrensis to the Dissolution of the Monasteries is much more satisfactory. Here the writer is on comparatively firm ground. He states the well-known facts with frankness and fulness, and incidentally illustrates many points of ritual and monastic observances. He would not deny that he holds a brief for a certain view of the Welsh Church, and against the methods of the Reformation. But he is an honest advocate, so honest, in fact, in his account of the condition of the monasteries, that the wonder is that he can continue to hold his brief. If things were as he describes them, what else than their destruction could have cleansed the Church of the shame and corruption of Welsh monasteries?

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

Essai sur l'Immortalité au point du vue du Naturalisme Évolutioniste.

Par Armand Sabatier. Paris: Libraire Fischbacher, 1895. *Pp. xxix.* 291.

La Notion biblique du Miracle.

Par Eugène Ménégoz, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie protestante de Paris. Paris: Libraire Fischbacher. Pp. 32.

THE first of these volumes consists of seven lectures delivered first in Geneva, and afterwards in the Sorbonne, Paris. The author is Dean of the Faculty of Science and Director of the Zoological Institute in Montpellier. His volume is meant to be an *eirenicon* between modern science and religion, and has specially in view

those who are seeking in vain for a religious faith, or have given up the quest in despair. He writes, not as a theologian or philosopher, but as a man of science—a man of science who has not ceased to be a man, and to interest himself in all that interests man. He accords to science the fullest rights to which it can properly lay claim; he avows himself a thorough-going evolutionist. He has indeed some caveats to enter regarding Darwinianism. He emphasises the *immanent* evolving tendency of organisms, whereby progress is secured apart altogether from that fierce struggle against others which seems to be nature's sanction of egoism. He also indicates how science "silences the heart"—has no answer to return to the deepest questions asked by the heart of man. On the other hand, he points out that faith is too often the mere "friend of our infancy;" that faith has not responded to the widening horizon disclosed by science; that faith too often clings to positions which are demonstrably false. He proposes to discuss the question of immortality as an evolutionist who is at the same time a believer in the religious life of man. He warns his readers that he is not to write as a preacher or theologian ("aller au prêche"), but as a biologist who keeps his eyes open to all the facts. There is not a Scriptural reference in the volume, but there is a high spiritual tone throughout, and a fine underlying appreciation of Christian teaching. The lectures are interesting and eloquent from beginning to end, and in many of their arguments strikingly original. Metaphysicians will miss their own categories here and there, but even metaphysicians will find fruitful suggestions.

The argument for the possibility of the survival of the human personality after death is a specimen of the ingenuity and originality of M. Sabatier. He writes, as he tells us, as a man of science, and the categories he uses are the categories of a man of science. It would seem difficult to dispense with metaphysical categories in dealing with personality and the questions thereby raised, but our author is bold enough to trust to the categories of biology. He is not a materialist. He believes in the superiority of spirit over matter. Yet he speaks of the nerve-centres being the accumulators, condensers, and organisers of spirit—very much after the fashion of a materialist. But he differentiates. The brain does in a sense make spirit—but it makes spirit out of spirit. That is, spirit is diffused through the whole external world, and what the nerve-centres do is simply to accumulate this diffused spirit, condense and organise it into personality, with its powers of thinking, feeling, willing. Thus baldly stated, the theory seems too bizarre to be seriously defended. But in M. Sabatier's eloquent pages, it acquires an air of plausibility. The theory is of course indefensible. M. Sabatier sides with the metaphysicians in their views of the superiority

and priority of spirit, but in trying to give expression to these views by means of categories which are suitable only for the materialistic derivation of spirit, he has produced an ingenious theory which provokes a smile. He assumes that his account of personality is superior to that given in the philosophy of Victor Cousin with its emphasis on the ego—the one simple and indivisible entity. One may be forgiven for wishing that our author had caught more of the metaphysical spirit of his fellow-countryman. But to pass from this criticism: by representing the nerve centres as merely the means by which spirit is accumulated from the external world, he succeeds in securing so far the independence of spirit or personality. If the nerve centres created personality—thought, feeling, volition—then the destruction of the nerve centres would mean the destruction of personality. But if the nerve centres only accumulate what existed before in the external world, the survival of personality after the destruction of the nerve centres is conceivable. That is, biological science leaves room for the possibility of immortality.

One of the striking things in the book is the argument it offers in favour of conditional immortality. Personality our author conceives as a psychic group of forces, solidly joined, marvellously harmonised. A good life means keeping the group in integration (whence we speak of a good man as a man of integrity); a bad life means loosening the group (whence we speak of a bad man as dissolute). There is therefore no immortality for the bad, for badness means the destruction or dissolution of the psychic group of forces, which constitutes personality. "Immortality is the lot only of those who have reached a sufficient degree of cohesion and integrity to escape from absorption and disintegration." This biological argument is reinforced by the argument that, as a good and wise God can only use suffering for ameliorative purposes, it would be useless to preserve human beings in existence when suffering would no longer work out any good for them.

In this sixth lecture, and in the last, there are suggestive discussions on such subjects as these: suffering and progress, the nature of the immortal life, the doctrine of universal salvation, the immortality of infants, the possibility of weak personalities being merged in stronger personalities, possible immortality for animals, the Positivist immortality of influence, immortality regarded by Socialists as a device for exploiting the poor.

The tractate by Professor Ménégoz is an introductory lecture which was delivered at the opening of the session of the Theological Faculty of Paris in November 1895. The aim of the author is a limited one—to bring out the religious significance of the con-

ception of miracle as held by the Biblical writers. He is not concerned with the historicity of the narratives of the miracles: he is ready to give up the historicity of the narratives, if criticism demands this. How did the Biblical writers interpret a miracle—that is the question which interests him. "The miracle is always considered a supernatural intervention of God in the natural order of things." That is the conclusion reached by the author from an analysis of the narratives of miracles in the Old and New Testament, and with that as a fundamental principle, he criticises the attempts of apologists to water down the conception of miracle to bring it more into line with modern thought. "Miracles are but exemplications of natural laws not yet known." "There is miracle in everything, for in everything God is actively present." "Christ's exorcism of evil spirits was at bottom moral exorcism." "Anyhow there is a true miracle in conversion." Such attempts at rehabilitation of the miraculous our author considers a proof that the apologists have no longer the notion of miracle held by the prophets, the apostles, and the theologians of the middle ages and of the Reformation.

What then is the value of the Biblical miracle? The answer given by our author is hesitating and not free from obscurity. Belief in miracle implies a belief that God in certain circumstances intervenes in an immediate way in the course of things. The belief that God intervenes in human life is a religious conviction of supreme worth. Belief in miracle is only the particular form in which this conviction is expressed. What is of importance in a miracle, from a religious point of view, is not the fact itself, but the interpretation of the fact. "Whether the narrative of the miracle be true or legendary, if the narrator believed in it, his faith has its own worth—a religious worth." Belief in miracle is an impressive means—suitable for an age when miracles can be believed—of setting forth the presence and intervention of God in human life. From this point forward the author's argument is difficult to follow. He expresses his faith in Christ as the revealer of God, and finds the true sphere of miracle in the response given by God to the prayers of His children in fellowship with their Father. "We proclaim strongly and joyously our faith in miracle in as far as we emphasize the free activity of God, and the hearing of prayer, and in as far as we combat resolutely the determinism which would grind our life in its fatal mill." Our author would have made his meaning clearer in the latter pages of his tract if he had been content to emphasize the religious interpretation of nature and her laws, and the reality of God's freedom in fellowship with His children. The use of the word "miracle" in a double sense exposes the author to the strictures he has himself passed upon the "apologists." One

further remark we are disposed to make—that our author has not shown very clearly how the notion of miracle entertained by "Moses, the prophets, and the apostles" has contributed to the religious interpretation of nature, and to the appreciation of the Divine freedom in the fellowship of children with their Father in heaven.

D. M. Ross.

Gottes Volk und Sein Gesetz.

Bruchstücke einer Biblischen Theologie Alten Testaments. Nebst einem Vortrag "Über das Buch Hiob," als Anhang. Aus dem Nachlass von D. R. F. Grau, weil. o. Professor der Theologie zu Königsberg. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. *pp. iv.* 163. *Price, M.*2.

THIS volume has a melancholy interest as the posthumous publication of a laborious scholar. The author opens the introduction to this series of studies in the following terms:—"The Israelitish people are the riddle of the world's history, and the highest problem of the philosophy of history. . . . During the development of the old world, this people stood alone with their religion—with the most precious treasure of eternal truth. Then, when the old age reached its close, there broke forth from this people salvation for all the peoples of the world. But while the Gospel sped through the world and gained one people after another for salvation, this people again stood isolated among the Christian nations, more obdurately opposed to the blessed Evangel, which should have been Israel's highest renown and glory, than even Islam itself."

The studies included in this volume refer to Israel in the former relation,—as a monotheistic people during the period of the world's polytheism. In ten papers the author discusses as many subjects:—(1) Shem, Ham, and Japhet; (2) The polytheism of the pagan Shemites; (3) The deity of the ancient Hebrews; (4) The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; (5) The Exodus from Egypt; (6) Jahve, the God of Moses and Israel; (7) The ten words; (8) The Sabbath; (9) The name Jahve; (10) The Cultus.

A special interest attaches to these studies. The last, on a subject of great importance for present critical discussions, is incomplete—unfortunately left unfinished at the death of the author, which took place in August, 1893. The editor has selected the papers under review from the literary remains of the lamented professor, and published them under the title given above. The field covered by these ten studies is wide and full of interest at present.

Old Testament students will find it worth their while to read what Professor Grau has written on the different questions he dis-

cusses. He is not extreme. He accepts the opinion that "Every thoughtful man will acknowledge that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are historical persons" (p. 54). But he places himself along with the moderate section of the newer critics in the position he assigns to Moses. "Moses is the deliverer, the redeemer, and, if one will, the creator of his people. That is the primary and most important thing. As law-giver he comes after . . . As law-giver he can only have laid in the wilderness the foundation on which the centuries following had successively to build" (p. 82).

Professor Grau holds, with other Old Testament students, that the fundamental idea in the Shemitic conception of God was that of power. God exercises supreme lordship over the world and nature; fear and subjection on the part of man are His due (*cf.* p. 50, &c.). What he says on Jahve as the God of Israel, and on the name Jahve, is suggestive and valuable (pp. 85 *ffg.*; 122 *ffg.*). "The name Jahve is simply the expression, and the gathering up into one, of the facts through which God revealed himself to Moses and the people in the redemption from the land of Egypt" (p. 91). The name Jahve is practically the equivalent of the continual presence of God Almighty in the domain of nature,—supreme Lord of the world,—as creator (if one will have it so),—deliverer, redeemer, as He was to Israel at the time of the Exodus. He remains in history what He revealed Himself to be in the history of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt. "For," says Professor Grau, "if this name signifies Helper, Redeemer, Reviver, what help is there in this to one who is in need, if Jahve became such in history only once, so that His help and deliverance belong only to the past? Or what help is there to me in God's saving, reviving character, if, in that character, he is not at hand and ready in my behalf every moment when I need help?" (pp. 125, 6).

Jahve of the Exodus is as really present with His people now and will be to the end,—as Helper, Deliverer,—as He was with Israel when they left Egypt. Jahve "is such for me now," says Professor Grau, "through His *Name*, so far as I call upon Him with this name. . . . 'Our help is in the Name of Jahve, who made the heavens and the earth'" (p. 126).

The appended discussion on the book of Job is scarcely foreign to the other subjects handled. It is a thoroughly sympathetic study, and assigns to the book a foremost place among the books of poetry which have reached us. The author is "the great interpreter, yea, the prophet of the suffering." GEO. G. CAMERON.

Early Christian Literature.

Ignatius von Antiochien als Christ und Theologe: eine dogmengesch. Untersuchung, von Eduard Freiherrn von der Goltz; Griechische Excerpte aus Homilien des Origenes; von Erich Klostermann. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs [*Texte u. Unters.*]. 8*vo, sr. ix.* 206 + 12. *Preis,* 7 *M.*50.

Ein Beitrag zur Lösung der Felicitas-Frage: Programm, von Dr Joseph Führer. Freising. M. 1.60. *Pp.* 162, *broch.*

Zur Felicitas-Frage; von Dr J. Führer, Kgl. Gymnasiallehrer in München. Leipzig: G. Fock. 1 *M. Pp.* 36.

FREIHERR VON DER GOLTZ here makes his *début* in a most promising manner. He has chosen a weighty subject, and handles it with thoroughness and good sense. Accepting the Seven Epistles as they stand, he finds that their intrinsic features fully support the tradition which assigns them to a relatively early date, *i.e.*, c. 115 A.D. But his main interest is with Ignatius' conception of Christianity, his religion and his theology; and these are viewed both as belonging to a man of intense feeling and as reflecting, to a certain degree, the thought of the sub-apostolic age on various points. The book is packed full of matter; but we can only indicate very cursorily what the reader may look for in it.

The discussion falls into two parts: the former devoted to the general Christian outlook and the theological ideas which work in Ignatius, the latter handling his notions in relation to their historical origin and bearing. He finds that Ignatius' piety is essentially Christo-centric, and that its emotional character is due not merely to temperament, but also to the peculiar conditions under which he threw off at a heat the Epistles whereby he lives for us to-day. The revelation of the eternal God in human form (ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ θεός) is the master-light of his all seeing. The statement of this immanence of God in the humanity of the Redeemer is ever and anon accentuated by the consciousness of rival notions abroad in the age, tending to undermine the *reality* of God's coming into the world of men in order to create and foster a *new* type of humanity, fit and destined for an indissoluble life. This is no mere abstract idea to Ignatius, for in him there still lives a strong and vivid sense of the historic personality of Jesus, as He lived and suffered on earth. Indeed, the soteriological still prevails over the cosmological in his references to the deity of the Redeemer. He shows but little insight into St Paul. "Flesh" with him has no deep ethical meaning; his interest in it is mainly anti-docetic. Again, the Death of Christ has importance chiefly as the presupposition of

Resurrection. On the other hand, his over-mastering sense of union with God in Christ, as the essence of a Salvation mediated through Faith and Love, lifts his Eschatology high above the Jewish "dramatic" level, and makes future bliss seem but an enhanced form of the "mystic, sweet Communion," already here begun for faithful souls. From such a central motive his Ethics, as a rule, flow forth spontaneously in proper Evangelic fashion, and to the same genuine type of piety even his Ecclesiastical notions are subordinate. To this first part are appended some careful paragraphs dealing with the Ignatian Phraseology—its vocabulary, style, and quasi-liturgic formulæ.

The topics of Part II. must, with one exception, be named, and only named. Half of it is devoted to New Testament affinities, under the headings, "Paul and Ignatius," "Ignatius and John"; and the other half sets forth "the historical significance of the Ignatian view of Christianity in his own age, and its relation to the later development." But the exceptional importance of the section on the Johannine writings challenges further attention. The main thesis is that we have in Ignatius evidence for the existence in Asia Minor of a Johannine School of Christian thought, which must largely enter into our account when thinking not only of the Johannine writings in the New Testament, but even of the developed Christianity represented by Ephesians, the Pastorals, and 1 Peter.

When we observe how little Ignatius and other of the Apostolic Fathers really enter into distinctively Pauline thought, even when echoing certain of Paul's Epistles, we must feel the justice of Von der Goltz's remark that Ignatius' sympathetic use of Johannine categories must be due to a "psychological climate" of kindred living thought. Otherwise, his knowledge of the Johannine *writings*, even if such be assumed, would still remain comparatively external in character, as in the former case. But the fact is that Ignatius' expression of certain fundamental Johannine ideas is so independent, even where the parallelism extends most into detail and terminology, that we feel at once how thoroughly at home he is in the thought, and how indifferent to the exact forms in which he clothes that thought. Indeed, our author feels able to go a step further.

Thus while believing that the Fourth Gospel was already in existence (as a product of the same School), he concludes that Ignatius did not actually possess this writing. His main argument here, if not conclusive, is yet very striking. He first shows that Ignatius shows clear use of our Matthew, as distinct from the common Synoptic Tradition (Luke also seems known to him); and then points to the absence of Johannine material in his references to the historic Jesus, and that, too, where, as in his argument for the

reality of Christ's body even after the Resurrection,[1] he might thereby have greatly strengthened his case. Still one must observe, (1) that for polemical use against Docetists apt to discount any Johannine Gospel and represent it as unauthoritative compared with the long-standing and general Synoptic type of tradition, a Johannine proof-text would have been of little service: and (2) that even in John xx. 20, 27, it is not said that any man actually touched the risen Lord. Further, we have to note that in Justin also the Synoptic type of *narrative* seems to have overshadowed and nullified the Johannine. So that while we recognize the value of the contrast drawn between the relation of Ignatius to Paul and John respectively—he is influenced by the text of the one and the spirit of the other—we cannot as yet feel that our author has proved his special inference. But how careful is the textual study on which his own views rest, may be seen by an inspection of the comparative Tables of quotations with which the investigation ends.

Paul Wendland, whose labours on the text of Philo have familiarized him with the Greek *Catenæ*, has remarked on the importance for the text of certain Greek Fathers of the *Eclogæ* of Procopius Gazæus (*fl.* 520), the earliest of our Catenists. This hint has just been applied by E. Klostermann to the *Scholia* on the Octateuch compiled by this writer from his larger Catena of Extracts from earlier exegetical writers; with the result, that he has proved the presence of abbreviated extracts (of value to the critical editor) from Origen's 26 Homilies on Joshua. A strange feature of the case is the fact that only the first four and the last eleven of these seem to be used, at least to any marked extent. Apparently some other author has replaced Origen as prime source for the intervening sections. The extent to which Origen is drawn upon for the rest of the Octateuch yet needs working out. Wendland himself has pointed out parallels between Procopius and the fragments of Origen's *Commentaries* for Genesis and Exodus: while Klostermann already detects in Procopius 'almost the whole eight Homilies on Leviticus.' And as he also finds frequent references to (Josephus and) Eusebius, especially the *περὶ τοπικῶν ὀνομάτων*, in this writer, we may well hope for rich gleanings in the future from so promising a field.

The real significance of the two pamphlets upon the *Felicitas-Frage* lies in the fact that De Rossi has taken the *Passio* of Felicitas and her Seven Sons, assumed to be a genuine narrative of

[1] *Ad Smyrn*, 3; *καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς. Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἥψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν.* Here he cites some Apocryphal expansion of the words found in Luke xxiv. 39, to the ignoring of the yet more obvious evidence afforded by John xx. 24-27.

events belonging to 162 A.D., as a fixed point around which a mass of floating data touching the earliest Christian cemeteries (especially the *Crypta Quadrata* of Januarius) might crystallize and so attain to an ordered stability. This assumption the earlier of Führer's brochures rendered no longer tenable. And seeing that the main lines of his criticism already lie before English Scholars in the independent examination of these Acta by Lightfoot (*Ignatius*, I. 511 ff, 726), one need here only notice the fresh points which the German's wonderfully learned and exhaustive work contributes towards a theory for the origin of the Passio in its present form. Passing by the possibility of its having originally existed in a Greek form, which Führer rightly sees would imply a nucleus earlier than the middle of the third century—and he has by no means succeeded in disproving such an hypothesis [1]—we note the following positions as having been well-nigh established in detail.

(1) Time was when the Martyrdom of Felicitas (and her children) on November 23, and of the Seven Martyrs [2] (later treated as her sons) on July 10, existed as separate traditions in the Roman Church, and indeed continued so to exist long after the fusion between them took place in certain documents. (2) Down to the age of Gregory I. the fusion, which ended in the belittling of the Seven Martyrs under the shadow of her who became their mother, was not as yet achieved: and as late as the end of the seventh century it is represented for us by only two documents. But even in these the affiliation of all the seven (after the model of the Maccabæan story, which has moulded the *Passio* of Symphorosa and her Seven Sons under Hadrian!) has not yet come about. Führer's second pamphlet is a *Streitschrift*, and adds nothing of moment.

VERNON BARTLET.

[1] Lightfoot has, for instance, pointed out that certain historical references embedded in the *Passio* converge strikingly on the year 162 A.D. (p. 514 f.), and Ramsay has taught us to take such points seriously.

[2] In the Bucherian Calendar, compiled some twenty years before the date of Liberius (354 A.D.), we find under 'vi. Id. Jul.' these entries: 'Felicis et Philippi in Priscillæ; et in Jordanorum, Martialis, Vitalis, Alexandri; et in Maximi, Silani (hunc Silanum martyrem Novati furati sunt); et in Pretextati, Januarii.' For an analysis of Führer's discussion, see Harnack in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* for 1890, 498-502.

Texte und Untersuchungen.

Band XII. Heft 2. *Tertullian's "Gegen die Juden," von E. Noeldechen; Die Predigt u. das Brieffragment des Aristides, von Paul Pape. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. iv.* 92+34. *Preis, M.*4.

Heft 4. *Urkunden aus dem antimontanistischen Kampfe des Abendlandes, von Ernst Rolffs; Zur Abercius-Inschrift, von Ad. Harnack. vii.* 167+28. *Preis, M.*6.50.

SINCE Semler, but especially since Neander—the soberness of whose case against the authenticity of all but cc. 1-8 won him many followers—the unity, authenticity, and date of the Tertullianic *adv. Judæos* have been much debated. Noeldechen finds the best advocate on the affirmative side to have been the Catholic Grotemeyer (1865), whose perception of the unity of plan underlying the several parts earns his warm praise. On the other side, it is to Corssen's restatement of Neander's position[1] that he feels most bound to address himself; which he seems to do with success. Certainly he develops in the whole discussion a mastery of the *minutiæ* of the text, style, and thought, which must make one most diffident in case of disagreement. A brief review of the older polemic against Judaism[2] opens the way to a section on "Justin's *Dialogue* in Africa," in the course of which Tertullian is shown to have been at once a careful student and a candid critic of the Martyr who was often too much of the philosopher to suit his taste. Our author also observes that the various parts of *adv. Judæos* are alike in their use of Justin, which would so far suggest unity of authorship. Then, after a careful survey of the history of opinion touching the treatise, he urges Tertullian's intimate knowledge of Judaism, shown in other writings, as creating a presumption that he was author of the whole work. But the centre of his position is the exhibition of what he calls the "Clamps" and "Cords" binding the "genuine" and the "dubious" parts together. Among the former and stronger bonds, he lays special stress upon a fact involved in the opening words which make the treatise an outcome of an actual discussion in which Tertullian himself would seem to have been the Christian champion; namely, that the Jewish side is represented by a proselyte. This

[1] In "Die Altercatio Simonis Judæi et Theophili Christiani auf ihre Quellen geprüft," Berlin, 1890.

[2] Here he assigns the *Test. xii. Patr.* to the age of Hadrian and to a Judæan origin—rather too simple a statement on so complex a work—and *Barnabas* to the same epoch. Is it not time that some one holding this view should take in hand to *show* Weizsäcker, Lightfoot, and Ramsay to be wrong in holding the earlier date?

explains several peculiarities found in both parts of the work; and, along with the presence of "backers" who broke in at various points in the original debate, serves to turn the flank of many of Corssen's criticisms of the second part, which he finds to be confused and scrappy. Admitting, then, that there is a certain literary finish which differentiates cc. 1-8 from what follows (so far Neander is right), Noeldechen explains the phenomena as follows. Tertullian intended to work up his rough notes of the earlier debate into the form of lectures (*lectiones*); but for some reason or other only carried out this thorough revision as far as chapter 8. The second half thus still bears the marks of a *memoriter* report, in which the echo of the various voices in the debate can still be heard.

But what of the obvious literary relation of the latter half with *adv. Marcionem*, Book iii.? Noeldechen accepts the challenge with avidity, and makes out a strong case for the dependence being on the side of this latter work. He shows that (*a*) Tertullian himself hints at such a relation (*adv. Marc.* iii. 7); (*b*) it was his habit to draw upon his earlier writings (*e.g.*, *ib.* v. 10); (*c*) there is a *development* in the changes, both material and stylistic, which precludes the contrary relation. This conclusion is clinched by a careful comparison between *adv. Judæos* and a number of Tertullian's other works; with the result that it is found to fall into the series most naturally if placed between *De Baptismo* and *De Spectaculis*, *i.e.*, A.D. 195-196 —probably the early part of the latter year.

This bare outline can convey no notion of the wealth of detail skilfully brought to bear on the problem. But what a gain it would be if learned authors would go more briefly to the point, relegating subsidiary discussions to appendices. The historian has hardly a chance of covering the actual mass of critical monographs, which yet tend to settle questions that closely concern him who would build securely.

Among other results of the recent discovery of the *Apology* of Aristides was the attempt of Zahn, and after him of Seeberg, to rehabilitate as actual works of the same Aristides two writings which had earlier been published from the Armenian. These are a Homily on "The Cry of the dying Thief and the Response of the Crucified," and a small fragment from an "open letter," entitled "The Philosopher Aristides to all Philosophers." Admitting that there were suspicious phrases in each (analogous to the term θεοτόκος in the *Apology*) which might well be due to the Armenian translator, Zahn and Seeberg urged that there was nothing else to cast reasonable doubt on the ostensible authorship. But Paul Pape seems to have completely proved the contrary in his able tractate, in which he makes it probable that both were anti-Nestorian polemics, dating from about the latter half of the fifth century.

For this result, as regards the Fragment, he also produces external proof of a kind. For he shows that it is in bad company, in that it occurs in the MS. along with a series of dogmatic propositions attributed to ante-Nicene Fathers, but clearly combating post-Nicene heresies. Similarly he cites, as analogous to the Homily, a number of like Homilies in Armenian, attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus. To this I would add certain dogmatic formulæ attributed to the same saint, and just published (from the Journal of the Edschmiadzin Convent) by Mr Conybeare in the *Guardian* of August 14. For these, too, are clearly anti-Nestorian. Pape finds what look like traces of the use of a Gospel-harmony in the Homily. If an examination of the quotations in detail should identify this with Tatian's Diatessaron, this would not only support Pape's case, but would also argue a Syriac, rather than Armenian origin for the Homily.

The re-discovery of Hippolytus about the middle of the present century has led to a wonderful enrichment of our knowledge as to the Roman Church of the first quarter of the third century; and this in turn has lent fresh actuality to a whole group of Tertullian's later works. The great "Discipline" crisis, thus made to live afresh to our imagination, was in the West, particularly in North Africa, closely bound up with the claims of the New Prophecy or Montanism. Hence it comes about that Rolffs' work, entitled "Documents from out the anti-Montanistic Struggle in the West" —a worthy sequel to his "Edict of Indulgence of the Roman bishop Callistus"—really lays bare before our eyes the conflicting ideals touching the σωφροσύνη involved in any truly Christian life, as these passed current in Rome and Carthage in the opening years of the third century. As Rolffs claimed in his former work to have reconstructed in large part the Edict of Callistus embedded in Tertullian's counterblast, his *De Pudicitia*, so now he would have us see shining through the texture of the *De Jejunio* the outlines of an attack upon the Montanist doctrine of Fasts turning on the new revelation by the Paraclete of an obligation, latent indeed in the Gospel, but now for the first time made explicit to an age already mature enough to be "able to bear it" (John xvi. 12, 13). And similarly in the *De Monogamia* he finds traces of a document occasioning this vigorous defence of a correlative Montanist position: and in this case he is able, by the help of another scholar, Voigt,[1] to identify the antagonist's work lurking in the pages of Epiphanius (*Hær.* xlviii. 1-13). In the subsequent attempt to reach an approximate date for this "Source" used by Epiphanius, our author shows much skill, and helps to elucidate the stages in Tertullian's life represented by *De exhort.*

[1] *Eine verschollene Urkunde des antimontanistischen Kampfes*, Leipzig, 1891.

cast. (about the same epoch as *Adv. Marc.* I., *i.e.* 207), *De corona* and *De fuga* (*c.* 211), *De Virg. Vel.* (*c.* 213), *De ecstasi* I.-VI. (*c.* 214),[1] as well as by *De anima, Adv. Marc.* IV., *De carne Christi, De resurr. carnis, Adv. Marc.* V., all of which he places in the four years or so between 214 and 218 (the date of *Adv. Praxean*, taken as *terminus ad quem* before the darkness fully settled down on Tertullian, *c.* 219-222). An important result of this section is, that for a whole decade there was a Montanist section within the Church at Carthage (*c.* 202-213); that this long period of mutual forbearance was due to Tertullian's prestige; and that the breach which severed Montanists and "Catholics" or "Psychics" into two camps was marked by his work *De ecstasi* (see *Adv. Prax.*), following on the failure of his effort in *De virg. vel.* to bring the Church as a whole to accept a crucial part of the New Discipline. Among the most valuable pages in the argument on which these conclusions rest, are those devoted to the *Acta Perpetuæ* which at first sight might seem to favour the theory of an earlier and speedier breach.

Whom, then, may we imagine to have been the authors of the two documents revealed by our analysis? Rolffs shows good reasons for tracing them in either case to Rome, and naming Callistus and Hippolytus respectively.

The latter identification is corroborated, not only by comparison with the tone of Hippolytus' Περὶ χαρισμάτων (worked up in *Apost. Const.* viii.) and of his *Commentary on Daniel*, but also by the similarity of attitude shown by a kindred spirit, Origen. Among his works as given by Jerome (after Pamphilus?) Rolffs detects a pair of hortatory works ("Homilies" they are styled in the confused text at our disposal) addressed to a friend (Pionia or Pionius, perhaps then resident in Rome), entitled "*De Jejunio*" and "*De Monogamis et Trigamis*"; and he acutely observes that the term *trigami* at least clearly implies Origen's polemical attitude to the lax extreme. The similar inference may then be extended first to *Monogamis* and then to *De jejunio;* with the result that Origen is found to stand, like Hippolytus, between the extremists, Tertullian and Callistus. A further moral is that the struggle in the West is thereby proved to have attracted the notice of the Church at large, at least in the persons of the leading churchmen. Granting, then, that Hippolytus wielded an anti-Montanist pen, How does such polemic stand related to his other hæresiological writings? Was Epiphanius' "Source" an independent work, or was it part of a larger whole? This leads Rolffs first to discuss the relation of *Contra Noetum* to the "Little Labyrinth," and to

[1] The reply by Apollonius, in a work cited by Eus. H.E. v. 18, called forth as rejoinder the work which became known as *De ecstasi* VII.

conclude that the former was not part of the latter (*c.* 234), but was rather written before the *Philosophumena*, *i.e.* before 230. Next he finds that *Contra Noetum*, along with the work embedded in Epiphanius *Hær.* xlviii., formed part of a great Corpus levelled at five heresies (the Melchisedekians, Theodotians, and Alogi being the others). But *Contra Noetum* has been shown (*e.g.* by Lipsius) to form the close of H's *Syntagma* against all heresies. Hence we must conclude that the aforesaid Corpus belonged to the comprehensive Syntagma. Finally it appears that the Christological conflicts of the Roman Church were the special occasion of the Syntagma; but that, in order to gain full credit for his orthodoxy in this sphere, Hippolytus felt called on to define his attitude to other schools of Christian thought in Rome. And thus it was that his anti-Montanistic polemic was coeval with his Christological conflicts.

Few of those who have given attention to the strange epitaph composed for his own tomb by Abercius of Hieropolis in Phrygia can have felt altogether satisfied with the usual reading, which sees in it the studiously veiled utterance of a Catholic Christian, c. 200 A.D. There was something strange and unparalleled about it, after ingenuity had had its full say. But few, also, will be quite prepared for the counter-theory recently broached in Germany, that it is purely pagan in character. It is to be hoped, however, that this view will be met, not with contemptuous pleasantry, but in the serious spirit of candour shown by Harnack in the able monograph now under review. He first gives the text itself with scrupulous care; then shows that the difficulty is a real one, arising mainly from the fact that the current view could hardly have arisen save from some five lines (12-16) in the middle of the twenty-two containing the inscription; and, finally, proceeds to a detailed analysis, line by line, with a twofold result—that (1) all, save these five, would seem to be not only devoid of distinctive Christian features, but even full of points alien to Christian feeling and phraseology[1] about 200 A.D.; (2) the five lines themselves, while undoubtedly suggestive of Christian thought and usage — and, indeed, probably implying a Christian element in the writer's faith —may yet be closely paralleled in a pagan local myth, embedded in the "Christian History" of Philip of Sidé in Pamphylia, read in the light of Julian's fifth Oration on Cybele or *Magna Mater* and other collateral evidence. This myth certainly supplies data for

[1] As samples take the following:—If early Christian sentiment speaks in πᾶσα ξένη πατρὶς ἐστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρὶς ξένη (Ad Diogn., 5, 5), it can hardly boast its citizenship of Hieropolis as of ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως; γράμματα (πιστά) is not the word to describe the Catholic Christian's sense of what he has learned from his Master; the "Roman Treasury," or even that of χρηστὴ πατρὶς Ἱερόπολις, is not likely to be named in the epitaph of a typical early Christian.

the identification of Πηγή with παρθένος ἁγνή,[1] and of both with Ἥρα or Οὐρανία, who is very likely the βασίλισσα χρυσόστολος, χρυσοπέδιλος, seen along with the βασιλεύς (Jupiter, under form of Ζεὺς Ἥλιος) at Rome. It also puts fresh meaning into the words ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ πηγῆς . . . . τροφήν.

Hence Harnack's final judgment is that Abercius, was "the adherent of a pagan-Gnostic cult, in which a Christian mystery was joined to pagan mysteries." In support of such a wild syncretism he justly points to certain aspects, both of Phrygian Montanism and of Gnostics like the Ophites, Sethiani, &c. For these conclusions Ramsay's insistence on the strong local colouring of Christianity, in Phrygia in particular, ought to prepare us; and though personally inclined to see in the inscription more of the Christian element[2] lurking beneath the forms of local sacred associations, perhaps not unwelcome as "protective colouring" during an age of persecution, I cannot but feel that Harnack's view at present holds the field.

VERNON BARTLET.

Logik und System der Wissenchaften.

Von Prof. Dr L. Rabus: Erlangen und Leipzig: A. Deichert; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo, pp. vii.* 360. *Price, M.*6.

THIS forms the second volume of the author's elaborate *Lehrbuch zur Einleitung in die Philosophie*, and it is of sufficient merit to stand by itself as a contribution to the vast literature of Logic. It is not necessary to set forth the aim and purpose of Dr Rabus, in the series of works of which this volume forms a part; it will be enough for us to deal with this instalment of the larger work he has in hand. It is an elaborate and important work. It is constructed on the thorough type to which German writers have accustomed us. We have first an Introduction which, in lucid fashion, tells of the Vorbegriff of Logic, of its character as an anthropological discipline, of the relations of Logic and Philosophy, and of the place of Logic in the Encyclopädie of the sciences. Then the treatise divides itself into two main branches; the first of which deals with Logic in itself, and the second deals with it in relation to the system of the sciences. The first branch has two main divisions, the one treats of

[1] καὶ παρέθηκε τροφὴν πάντη ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ πηγῆς
πανμεγεθῆ καθαρὸν ὃν ἐδράξατο παρθένος ἁγνή.

[2] Thus I do not find H's attempt to eliminate reference to the Apostle of the Gentiles in Παῦλον ἔ(χων) ἕπο(χον) [to adopt his restoration of the words as at least a symbol of the original] at all successful (p. 12).

the history of Logic, and the other sets forth the science of Logic as it is conceived by Dr Rabus. We have read the history of Logic with the greatest interest and with the highest delight. It is brief, clear, and, we need not say, well-informed. As a brief statement of the way in which successive ages looked at Logic, its nature, scope, and place, we know nothing better than this outline. It would be an instructive process for a student to take the outline of Dr Rabus and follow it in detail from the Greek period, down to the Logic of the Middle Ages, and from these to the Logic of the later time, to test the accuracy of the statements, to verify the results by reference to the authorities, and to make sure that the main points of view are justified. So far as we have tested them, we have found them not only accurate but also felicitous in expression and profoundly conceived. The conception of Logic entertained in the olden time, as set forth by Dr Rabus, is—Logic is the organon for the knowledge of the nature of things. The conception of Logic held in the Middle Ages, is—Logic is the organon for the service of theological knowledge. And the prevailing conception of Logic in the modern time is—Logic is the organon of the self-knowledge and self-activity of Reason (Vernunft).

It would lead us far beyond our limits if we were to examine critically all the statements of this historical section of the book. Suffice it to say that the author gives full references both to the original authorities and to the literature of the subject. The path and the course of the development of Logic are fully traced, and the result is of value apart from the particular views of Dr Rabus.

In the second part of the first division we have the exposition of the System of Logic, or, the doctrine of the process of knowledge. The fundamental conception of the author is that thought or thinking (Das Denken) enters into and governs all human experience. This conception determines his treatment of the subject. He begins with a description of representation and thought, inquires into the origin of the power of representation, next discusses the question of the knowableness of the supersensual, then inquires into the agreement or correspondence of the mental image with the original, and finally discusses the relation of truth and certainty. On this last topic he says: "The ground of certainty, which is also the criterion of certainty, is, however, not sense-perception, as the empiricists hold; and not bare authority to which dogmatism in all its forms ever returns; and not thought, as idealism and the theory-of-knowledge rationalism assert; and not the necessity of thought, which never belongs to knowledge (Wissen), but only to thought, and which in part produces certainty, and in part by certainty is inspired; just as little can the play of another world, veiled and hidden from this world of change and appearance, in which all the

forms of mysticism glory, serve as the ground of certainty. Rather is the ground of certainty to be found in the whole circumstances, history and condition of the human being, as in mutual correspondence with all other forms of life, he comes into being, attains a definite mode of life, comes to self-consciousness, and thereby to clear knowledge; what agrees with this continuous experience is by him recognised as certain, what does not agree with it is by him doubted and repudiated."

We quote this passage as it is of interest in itself, and as it gives us an insight into the philosophical position of Dr Rabus. He is not of any particular school of philosophy. He reminds us often of Hegel, but with a difference. He lays as much stress on thought as Hegel does, but he does not reduce existence to a mere process of thought. This is apparent from the treatment of the subject of logic. His divisions are these: perception, representation (Vorstellen), judgment, ideas (Begreifen). But each of these is regarded as a process of thought. Thus we have the following:—Thought as perception, thought as Vorstellen, thought as judgment, and thought as ideas; or it may represent his view more completely if we lay stress on the activity of thought and speak of it as perceiving, imagining, judging, and grasping into a unity all the objects of knowledge; for it is on the activity of thought that stress is laid throughout. This becomes more clear when he speaks of Begreifen. Here we have a valuable historical sketch of the doctrine of the categories, which is introductory to the exposition of his own view. In perception thought first finds its object, in representation the object is thought as something, and, as to the worth of the representation, judgment or logical thinking gives the answer. Perception, representation, judgment are, however, special acts of one and the same process of thought. The thought which brings the manifoldness of the object to unity, and on the other hand detects the oneness of the manifold, is called Begreifen to distinguish it from all other kinds of thought. Dr Rabus calls it genetic thinking. To the modes of action of genetic thought he limits the word Categories. The Urkategorie is the thought of unity. On this thought of unity, or the unifying process, he dwells at length and treats it with the respect that ought to be shown to a thing so respectable as an Urkategorie. After all we are not quite clear as to the way in which this fundamental category is related to other categories less fundamental. The old puzzle how to differentiate the unity, and how to unite the manifold, comes back, and does not appear to be overcome. Mr Spencer invented a special machinery for the express purpose of overcoming this difficulty, and his doctrine of "the instability of the homogeneous" had a vogue for a time. On investigation it turned out to be a mere misleading phrase.

So we fear that the scheme of Dr Rabus does not serve its purpose. It does not help us much to be told thought is a unity which always opposes itself to another unity, that this opposed unity proceeds also from thought, and that thought is that which gathers the contrasted elements together and makes them one. In many phrases, and in manifold ways, this statement is repeated, and if repetition could give assurance we might be quite sure of the unity of thought and the power of thought to grasp as one the manifoldness of the world. It may be so for the thought which is at the centre of things, and can think them from the centre, but we are not at the centre, and we must content ourselves with something less. Still it is not without interest to follow Dr Rabus as he expounds his doctrine of the categories, until he comes at last to the "Schema des Systems der Denkformen." The supreme category is unity. But the Urkategorie of unity distinguishes itself into the chief categories of being, development, mediation (Vermittelung), and form. Each of these has other categories under them which we need not enumerate. What we should like to know is why should the given unity trouble itself to distinguish itself from itself, just to put itself to the trouble of gathering itself together again with no apparent gain through the process? And how does the unity have the power of self-differentiation? It is the old story, so familiar in the history of philosophic systems. The formula might be, assume something and deduce everything else from it. Assume the persistence of force and deduce the actual world from it, and if anyone objects, say, it must be so, otherwise Force should have ceased to persist. So with Dr Rabus assume unity, and say that it must differentiate itself, and the thing is done. It is not quite so easy after all. Though we are in a rational universe, yet the reason in the universe is too great to be grasped by us after that fashion. It seems that we cannot begin at the beginning and think out the universe, we must be content with the inquiry into the actual universe in which we find ourselves, and from what we can learn of its history and character come to know something of the reason that is in the universe.

The remaining part of the treatise deals with the system of the sciences. It is worthy of a larger notice than we can give to it. Dr Rabus proceeds on the lines of the former part of his work, and we have the same difficulty in accepting the conclusions. In the first section he deals with the nature sciences. The knowledge of nature; the relation of the unity of nature to development; the explanation of the unity of nature by means of the manifoldness of substances; the derivation of the manifold forms of nature from the unity of being; and finally a description of the system of the nature sciences—such are the topics discussed in this section. Then he

passes on to a discussion of theology, in which he speaks of faith and knowledge, of theological knowledge in distinction from other kinds of knowledge and its relation to them, of the system of theology and its relation to philosophy, and of theology and the science of history. Anthropology is the title of the next section, and here he deals with ethics, æsthetics, logic, and psychology. Finally he has six pages on philosophy. Philosophy is the title of the section, and the only sub-title is Christian philosophy. On these we cannot dwell. It may be of interest to describe his view of Christian Philosophy. Theological knowledge is knowledge through faith. On the possibility of such knowledge depends the possibility of the existence of theology. He vindicates the possibility of theology, indicates its significance in the history of the world, and shows that to a knowledge through faith we must look for the power which shall regenerate philosophy, and place it in its right position. He tells us in conclusion, that in view of the impossibility in any other way of raising philosophy to a higher position and to the use of new material, and in view also of the necessity of such a philosophy, we must call in Christian faith, embodied in Christian living, to help us to work out a philosophy which, on the ground of a fellowship, historically effected and scientifically grounded, of the human spirit with the Highest, that is, the true God, shall enlighten men, and make them strong for the stress and strain of living and dying.

JAMES IVERACH.

Philosophy of Theism.

Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1894-95. *First Series. By Alexander Campbell Fraser, LL.D., Hon. D.C.L., Oxford, Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons,* 1895. *Post 8vo, pp.* 303. *Price, 7s. 6d. net.*

IF the much-canvassed Gifford Lectureship does nothing else for us, it at least affords an instructive object lesson in the possibilities of variously understanding a prescribed theme and of ingeniously interpreting an elaborate but carefully drawn up document. Were Socrates living now he might find an excellent application of his method in determining the meaning and scope of Natural Theology by an examination and comparison of the different series of Gifford Lectures, as he once set himself to trace the significance of Truth or Justice by comparing the conceptions current in the schools and in the market-place. We have had the subject treated from the

scientific, philosophical, anthropological, historical, and historico-genetic point of view. Each lecturer has not only read it in the light of his special studies, but read into it much of these. Each has been at some pains to connect his own standpoint as closely as possible with the expressions used in Lord Gifford's remarkable Will. Especially in regard to the attitude to be assumed towards Revelation is the variety apparent and instructive, some believing that their duty is to confine themselves to an examination of the foundations upon which, if established, the Christian superstructure may afterwards be raised; while others endeavour, under the same feeling of obligation, to give an anti-supernatural explanation of the superstructure of Christianity itself.

The volume before us contains the first series of lectures on the Philosophy of Theism, delivered during session 1894-95 in the University of Edinburgh, by the venerable Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics of that University. The unpretending yet substantial exterior of the book is a fit symbol of its contents. The lecturer enters upon his task with a deep sense of its seriousness. To him it is the supreme utterance of a lifetime of thought and study upon a problem of the utmost importance. We feel that it is an honest attempt to say the best that may be in him upon this problem, and that he is one well equipped for the task, and we listen with expectation and reverence to what he has to say. It is to be remembered that we have before us an unfinished work—"we have hardly passed the threshold," says the author himself, "in this Introductory Course." But enough is given to enable us to estimate the manner and value of this contribution to Theism. In it we look in vain for anything novel or profoundly original. This is not what the writer claims to present. He adopts as his own the words of Philonous in Berkeley's "Dialogue"—"I do not pretend to be a setter up of new notions. My endeavours tend only to unite and place in a clearer light truth which was before shared between the vulgar and philosophers." But the merit of Professor Fraser's book is that, with lucidity of arrangement, fulness of discussion, clearness and felicity of language, often eloquence, he sets before us what are really the points in dispute between various forms of modern scepticism and an enlightened common-sense, knowing that until these are disposed of, it is useless to follow the anti-Theist into his more subtle and recondite speculations. Thus while those in search of the sensational in theme or treatment will pass the book by, none of those who earnestly desire to know the truth can afford to neglect it. Supplemented as it is to be with a course dealing with "the foundation in reason of the theistic interpretation of the universe; the intellectual difficulties in which thought may seem to be involved by religion; the alternatives of

finality or progressiveness in moral judgments and in religious thought; and the final destiny of moral agents"—it cannot fail to take rank as one of the most useful books upon the subject for the student and general reader, and a not unworthy outcome of the bequest of Lord Gifford.

The present course consists of ten lectures. In the first the "Final Problem" about the universe as it appears to man is set forth in all its importance, but also in its difficulty and mystery. The lecturer desires to approach it with no preconceived theory. "Let us face facts," he says, "seeking only to know what they are, and, as far as we can, what they really mean." Man is the only being capable of enquiring into the problem of the universe, or, indeed, of feeling that it is a problem at all. Philosophy and Religion alike require that his interpretation of the universe should be one and consistent, yet it is not here as in other instances of investigation into the causal sequence where a comparison of examples is possible; for here the problem is unique—we have no experience of *universes*, but only of one universe, and of it our experience is only limited and inadequate. But there may be grounds for holding that "the theistic solution of the problem" is "the truly philosophical one—the most reasonable that is open to man, and sufficient for human nature." Coming to consider the *method* to be employed, Professor Fraser touches upon that question of "revelation" to which allusion was made above. He holds, and he is probably right in holding, that he is only bound not to appeal to revelation as a substitute for reason, as a blindly accepted authority superseding investigation, but that it is not intended by the provision of Lord Gifford's Will, which refers to it, "to put an arbitrary restraint upon reason, by withdrawing from its regard a part of what is reported to have happened in the history of the world." It comes into view in connection with that religious experience, which, "whether natural or supernatural," is "a portion of the world's history, and therefore a portion of that revelation of the final meaning and purpose of things which is to be sought for in the facts of history" (p. 27).

In the second Lecture, the "Final Problem" is articulated; the actual reality with which it is concerned is found, as it is presented in the common consciousness of men, to involve three existences; and the determination of the true relations of these is, in great part, if not altogether, the solution of the problem itself. These three existences are the Self or Ego, Matter, and God. They "are severally the occasions of morality, natural science, and religion. My own existence, implied in the recognition of my continuous personality, and in the independent power which I refer exclusively to myself, when I acknowledge personal responsibility for acts of

will, calls forth the idea of morality, and affords material for moral judgments. External nature, at least as it is presented to our senses and in our sensuous experience, is non-moral" (pp. 63-4). Nature is, however, the medium of communication between persons; without it they would have no means even of discovering one another; it makes possible "the social intercourse through which individual man becomes part of the moral organism, through which he is educated as a scientific intelligence and gets part of his moral training. Then, too, without the supremacy of the divine principle of moral, and therefore physical, order, on which the universe of change is presumed to depend, and on which we repose in faith, as the basis for thought and action, both morality and natural science must be paralysed" (p. 64). Now the maintenance of the right relations of these ultimate existences is a matter of great importance, but one which experience has shown to be beset with theoretical and practical difficulties. There is a tendency to conceive one or other of them as "more truly entitled to have existence and substantiality and power affirmed of it than either of the other two," and this disturbance of the balance is the fruitful source of superstition and scepticism. "While no one of the three can be wholly explained away, consistently with sane human life, any one of them may be so exaggerated as to paralyse the moral influence of the others, and to distort the true conception of human life" (p. 65). It is from this point of view that Professor Fraser formulates the theories which, as rivals to the Theistic hypothesis, he successively examines. There are those by whom "the outward or material world, which fills the horizon of sense, has been taken for the one ultimate reality, in a final conception of existence which makes the universe of reality at last only a universe of molecules in motion. This is Panmaterialism, which pretends to find in matter what common consciousness refers to the Ego and to God. On the other hand, those in whom the introspective habit is strong are apt to seek for the desired unity of existence in the conception that All is ultimately the ego only, in a philosophy of Immaterialism or Panegoism. Lastly, dissatisfaction with a universe of individual consciousness, combined either with an ideal All seen in the daylight of pure reason, or with mystical emotion, disposes both the courageous thinker and the mystic to seek for the one ultimate reality, neither in outward things with the Panmaterialist, nor in the inward life with the Panegoist, but, instead, in what is supposed to transcend both, because superior alike to individual sense and to individual consciousness. Hence the various schemes of Pantheism, Impersonalism, or Acosmism, in which the world and ego are identified with God" (pp. 70-71). These three views are subjected to a

closely critical examination in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Lectures, the last being specially devoted to a consideration of Spinoza. Materialism as a Monistic explanation of the universe is shown to derive its plausibility from the tacit introduction into the conception of matter of elements which are really inconsistent with it. The process ends apparently in the deification of Matter, but really in the dissolution first of morality, then of intellectual action and product, including the fabric of Materialism itself. If, now, the supremacy assigned to Matter is characteristic of the infancy of thought, advanced reflection often leads to an equally exclusive attribution of reality to the Ego. It is seen that Matter itself is nothing without consciousness, that all we know of it becomes meaningless when consciousness is subtracted from the universe. Then, from being "ready to suppose that consciousness can be refunded into the universe of outward things," man turns to the converse supposition "that the universe of outward things is dependent on his own self-conscious perceptions." But Panegoism breaks down when it is realised that from this point of view "the universe is born and dies with the person who experiences it, and the only person of whose existence I am conscious is myself." Thus human experience of reality is "reduced to an absurdity, if not to a contradiction" (p. 133). Pantheism in its turn presents many attractions and appears in several aspects. "Looked at in one light, it seems to be Atheism; in another it is a sentimental or mystical Theism; in a third, it is analogous to Calvinism" (p. 147). But while this theory also is attended with logical difficulties arising out of the attempt to translate the infinite into terms of the finite, Professor Fraser justly represents, as all careful thinkers have done before him, the chief difficulty as a *moral* one. "The moral experience of remorse and responsibility," "ideals of unattained good," and "the entrance of real evil into existence," are the rocks on which the theory is shattered. If, then, the three postulated existences are found to afford singly an insecure basis on which the Final Problem may be dealt with, what other alternatives are open? Either they must all alike be rejected, or all alike accepted. We may turn away from the problem altogether as "one which admits of no solution, not even a working human solution"; or we may "return to reason, in the form of faith in the three commonly postulated existences, through a deeper and truer interpretation." The seventh Lecture accordingly deals with the position of Universal Nescience, the Agnostic standpoint, while the last three Lectures seek to show, as against Materialism, that Nature can only be understood aright when it is regarded as a revelation of God; that Man in his conscious intelligence and self-determination is the "signal example of the divine"; that God is at

once known and unknown, the perfect Exemplar of the highest qualities of man, which He possesses in an infinite degree, while at the same time there are sides of His being on which He is incomprehensible to us, transcending not only our being, but our thoughts and conceptions.

Here the discussion is left for the present. In the course of it many suggestive thoughts are expressed, and many thoughts for which novelty cannot in themselves be claimed are clothed in fresh and forceful words. Thus we are reminded that "the agnosticism that retains physical science is not really a protest against faith; it is only an arrest of faith at the point at which faith advances from a purely physical to the moral and religious interpretation of life and the universe" (p. 219). And again, "Physical science is reached by a leap in the dark, in the faith that the presence of physical order and purpose in nature will not suffer the physical enquirer to be put to confusion. Religion, too, is a leap in the dark, yet in hopeful faith in the constant agency of perfect moral reason as the root not only of the physical order, but as the highest conception man can have of the universal principle of existence. So the moral or religious faith includes and justifies the physical" (p. 281).

Not the least interesting and valuable feature of these lectures is the way in which Professor Fraser utilises his special studies on Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, bringing out sides of the thinking of these British philosophers which are not usually associated with their names. But the allusions to ancient and modern systems, as well as to general literature, remind us that we are here under the guidance of one who moves in these regions with the ease born of long experience,—of one whose further instruction on his important theme we shall gladly welcome. ALEXANDER STEWART.

Studies of Childhood.

By James Sully. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. 536. *Price,* 10*s.* 6*d.*

IT is extremely difficult, within the compass of a short review, to do anything like justice to this important contribution to Child Psychology. The material Mr Sully has collected is enormous. His 512 closely printed pages contain a mass of facts that almost defy rational classification. Nor does the author make any attempt to introduce a more or less artificial "organic unity" into his work. He makes no pretence of an exhaustive treatment of his subject, but professes to "merely deal with certain aspects of children's

minds which happen to have come under my notice, and to have had a special interest for me. In preparing them I have tried to combine with the needed measure of exactness a manner of presentation which should attract other readers than students of Psychology, more particularly parents and young teachers." The result is certainly a book that ought to attract the readers it is meant to reach. Parents and young teachers into whose hands it may fall will find it full of interesting and profitable matter; and if one is inclined to regret the absence of a somewhat more systematic treatment, one must remember that after all Infant Psychology is as yet only at the Natural History stage of development. Something has been done in the way of observing and classifying facts, but as for an organised body of science, that is still to come. Mr Sully is, perhaps, therefore wise in his plan of placing before his readers as many and as pregnant facts as have come under his observation, without attempting an elaborate system. As to the particular arrangement adopted, more will be said below.

All the common sneers at "Nursery Psychology" are met by anticipation in the *Introduction*, which is in itself a valuable essay. Professional psychologists can do a little, teachers can do more, and parents can do most of all in supplying a valuable body of reliable material for working out the development of the human mind in its earlier stages. Those who are willing to work in this direction cannot do better than study the hints and cautions contained in the opening pages of the book.

The main body of the work is a straightforward, purposeful treatment of a difficult, though to the lay mind a somewhat trifling, series of observed phenomena. One cannot but admire the unwearying patience with which our author marshals his facts, and either explains them or honestly admits that he is not yet prepared to give an opinion on this or that point. The number of questions left for future investigation is very large, so large that at first sight it appears to indicate a serious blemish. The reader is apt to think that he is getting too much of the "I tell the tale as 'twas told to me." But a little reflection brings out the fact that Mr Sully is more than justified in withholding a final opinion in cases in which the data are insufficient. Sentences like the following occur with a frequency that is a little irritating —"more observations are needed on this point"; "more careful observations on this curious group of child-fears are to be desired." It is only when one takes into consideration the almost intolerable mass of "observations" that our author has placed before us, that one realises how absurd it would be to blame him, of all men, for not supplying more. Indeed, considering the ease with which almost any theory could be supported by the more or less contra-

dictory observations already supplied, it is greatly to Mr Sully's credit that he has resisted the temptation to work up easy and specious theories.

Admitting all this, there remains an uneasy feeling in the mind of the reader that even for the somewhat unscientific audience to whom the book appeals, there might have been found an arrangement involving a greater degree of unity. The essential oneness of the human mind—or "soul," if the expression pleases better—is the despair, not so much of psychologists as of writers on Psychology. For though the mind is one and indivisible, the study which treats of the mind is not. It is hardly too much to say that most of the error involved in the obsolescent "Faculty Psychology," has originated primarily in the necessity of dividing up books into sections and chapters. Is there no danger of something of this sort in the present case? All the more because the book appeals to less technical students than do most books of this class, does it run the risk of conveying to the mind of the reader the insidious error of supposing that because Imagination is treated in a chapter by itself it is a thing by itself that can exist separate from thought or memory. Whatever be the scientific value of the conception of "a wave of consciousness," there can be no doubt that this way of presenting the solidarity of the various elements of consciousness is the best for educational purposes. What teachers specially need is some account of the general development of the whole soul, an account in which each of the different elements gets its true place. In Medicine we are told that there are no diseases but only patients, so in Education we may say that there are no faculties but only children. Psychology is fond of telling us that all she can do is to supply general principles, which the teacher must himself apply to the case of the children under his care. But why should not Psychology at least meet the teacher half way, and present her truths in the form best suited for his purpose? One of the requirements in the Departmental Syllabus for students in training for teaching is "The order in which the mental faculties develop." In all the ordinary text-books on the subject this requirement is met by a straightforward catalogue beginning with *consciousness* and ending with *reasoning*. If this is all that Psychology can do for Education, can it be matter of surprise that teachers look askance at all attempts to supply a rational psychological basis for the art of teaching?

Not only would this treatment by means of a basis of development all along the line, a synchronous development of all the psychological elements, not interfere with our author's effort to popularise his subject, it would positively assist him in that effort. The method actually adopted has the defect of separating the facts

bearing upon each child who figures as a subject in the text. The frequent reference to the same child in different parts of the book in connection with different stages of development, and different phases of that development, is somewhat confusing, and sometimes weakens the argument for evolution. When, for example, our author seeks to show a gradual evolution from the vague, formless scribble to primitive design, and thence to a more sophisticated treatment of the human figure, the reader has an uncomfortable feeling that the argument passes from the vague, formless scribbling of one child to the more sophisticated treatment of the human figure by another. No doubt it is perfectly fair to argue from a great mass of work done by children of a given age as compared with that of children of the same class at a more advanced age. But this is hardly Mr Sully's method. He reasons from a comparatively few, though no doubt highly characteristic, cases. The statistical method is not adopted.

Accepting the general plan of the book, the reader cannot fail to be highly satisfied with the execution. Parents and young teachers cannot rise from its perusal without having benefited greatly, and that with the minimum of effort. The book is extremely interesting. The student of Mr Sully's other works will not find very much that is strikingly new in substance in the first part of the book, though he will assuredly find many of his old facts very freshly stated, and very prettily illustrated. In the chapters on *The Child as Artist* and *The Young Draughtsman*, however, we find ourselves on fresh ground. It would be too much to expect here an exemplification of the theory of the parallel development of the race and the individual. Such a work is beyond the scope of the book. Yet, by a comparison of many drawings by savages with those of similar subjects by children, Mr Sully has at least made a beginning for such an investigation. Those two chapters are full of fresh and interesting matter. The last hundred pages of the book are given up to an examination of direct records of the development of a boy and a girl—the boy C., and the girl George Sand. Here the method is of more value than the matter. The forty-year-old reminiscences of a powerful imagination, trained by novel-writing, can hardly be treated as very solid material for psychological inference as to child-life, while the father, whose diary is examined, is not free from the parental fallacies. Mr Sully shows great tact and open-mindedness throughout his book, but nowhere more conspicuously than in those final hundred pages, where the temptation must have been very strong to apply the evidence to the support of pet theories.

JOHN ADAMS.

The Ecclesiastical Expansion of England in the Growth of the Anglican Communion.

The Hulsean Lectures for 1894-95. *By Alfred Barry, D.D., D.C.L., formerly Bishop of Sydney and Primate of Australia and Tasmania. London: Macmillan & Co. Crown* 8*vo, pp.* 387. *Price,* 6*s.*

Euthaliana.

Studies of Euthalius, Codex H of the Pauline Epistles, and the Armenian Version, with an Appendix containing a collation of the Eton MS. of the Pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis. By J. Armitage Robinson, B.D., Norrisian Prof. of Divinity, Cambridge. 8*vo, pp.* 120. *Price,* 4*s. net.*

Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen und Zacharias-Legenden.

Von A. Berendts. Leipzig: A. Deichert. 8*vo, pp.* 108. *Price, M.*2.

Die katholische Lehre von der Reue.

Dargestellt und beurteilt von Lic. Theol. Carl Stuckert. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo, pp.* 96. *Price, M.*2.

In four lectures Dr Barry gives a rapid sketch of missionary activity and progress on the part of the Church of England. In the first lecture, on "The threefold Mission of England," Dr Barry shows how religious expansion, which is also ecclesiastical, ought to keep pace with national expansion. As in the past, so in the present, the missionary duty of the Church has a threefold direction. In the past the Church of Christ, as a missionary Church, had to address itself to the conversion of the Empire, the conversion of the barbarians, and the building up of Christian nations. So now, only in a different order, the missionary duty of the Church lies in the sphere of Colonial expansion, the missions to India and the East, and the conversion of the Lower Races. An admirable account is then given of the stimulus to missionary activity afforded by Simeon of Cambridge and the evangelical revival, as well as from other sides by the High Church movement and the influences of the Broad Church school. In the following lectures the work of the Church in the Colonies, in India and the East, and among the barbarian races, is graphically described, and the author deserves to be heartily congratulated on his success, both in the distribution of his materials and their comprehensive treatment, and in the

admirable proportion which he has observed in dealing with a subject branching out in so many directions. The selection of examples, too, under his several sections has been made with great wisdom and discrimination. A fine manly tone rings through the whole book. In the second and fourth lectures the references to slavery, the Queensland labour traffic, the sale of firearms and spirituous liquors to savage races, are all that could be desired. After speaking of the abomination of slavery and of the need of persistent effort to secure the utter overthrow of the remnants of it, he denounces in one strong sentence the cruel wrong still inflicted by Christian nations on savage races. "If the slave trade abomination is mainly of the past, there is now a less outrageous, but hardly less fatal, cruelty in the unscrupulous European traffic, sacrificing humanity for the sake of reckless gain—by the sale of firearms, helping and stimulating that internecine war between rival tribes which is the natural curse of barbarism—by the introduction of fiery and poisonous strong liquor, of which it has been said that it may make civilised men brutes, but that it turns barbarians into devils." In three appendices, pp. 213-387, details are given in illustration of Church missionary work in the Colonies, in India and the East, and among barbarian races. We find here generous recognition of good work done by other Churches and missionary societies, whose zeal and success are quite fairly made use of to stimulate in the Anglican Communion a worthy and honourable emulation. The book is written throughout in an interesting and attractive style, and the evidence it gives of warm and hearty enthusiasm on the part of the writer, as well as the large amount of useful information which it imparts, cannot fail to advance the cause of Missions in other communions as well as in the Church of England.

The third part of the third vol. of Cambridge Texts and Studies, edited by Prof. Robinson, deals with questions regarding Euthalius and his edition of the Acts and Epistles. In 1698 Zacagni published at Rome a collection gathered from Euthalian MSS. of the Acts and Catholic and Pauline Epistles, assigning A.D. 458 as the date of the earliest part of the work. Prof. Robinson suggests that this may rather be the date of a copyist of some Euthalian MS. The Euthalian authorship of the *Martyrium Pauli*, in which this date and also the earlier one of A.D. 396 are given, is disputed, and substantial reasons shown for setting it aside, pp. 28-30, and it is argued that the genuine work of Euthalius, which this tract closely imitates, must be earlier than A.D. 396 and subsequent to A.D. 323. As it would seem that the work was subjected to a revision in A.D. 396, probably by Evagrius, whose name occurs in some MSS., it must have been in circulation for a considerable time and have won authority. Prof.

Robinson assumes that it may have been written at least twenty-five years previously, say about A.D. 370. In that case the dedication to Athanasius of Alexandria might really be to the great Athanasius. Still further, as a system of chapter numbering was introduced by early hands into the Codices ℵ and B, and in a slightly modified form by Jerome in his Vulgate, which is ultimately traceable to Euthalius, Prof. Robinson thinks that his date may fairly be placed not later than A.D. 350. Our author has given an interesting chapter on Codex H of the Pauline Epistles, written probably from a Euthalian Codex collated with the Codex of Pamphilus, the Euthalian Codex being followed for the sake of its colometry or division in lines. Some lost pages have left such an impression on the leaves opposite to which they had originally been, that Prof. Robinson has been able to recover a considerable portion, which he prints in the work before us, pp. 50-65. There is still much to be done in sifting the materials which go under the name of Euthalius. In this treatise we have an important contribution in this direction, which will supply most valuable help to any one who may undertake a critical edition of the Euthalian manuscripts.

The treatise, designated as *Altslavische Beiträge* 1, deals with the Apocrypha and legends that have arisen out of an attempt to explain the allusion to the death of Zacharias in *Matt.* xxiii. 35, and *Luke* xi. 51. After a careful examination and classification of lists of canonical and extra-canonical books in which the Zacharias Apocryphon in one form or another is named, our author discusses the confusion that appears in the descriptions of the author or subject of the book referred to, sometimes given as the canonical prophet, sometimes as the father of John the Baptist. The idea that a pre-exilian prophet (son of Jehoiada) or the post-exilian prophet of that name may have been subject or author of an Apocryphon is dismissed on the ground that no proof is forthcoming of the existence of any such work. The difficulty connected with the statement in *Matt.* lies in the occurrence of the phrase "son of Barachias" as designating the Zacharias there mentioned. Can this be the father of John the Baptist? It will be remembered how scornfully Keim rejects this supposition, equally with the current explanation that Abel and Zachariah are quoted as examples from the first and last books of the O.T. Canon. Our author, however, patiently examines three different forms of the tradition as associated with the Zacharias of the N.T. (1) There is that of Origen, who understands the reference in *Matt.* to be of necessity to a contemporary deed of violence, and reports a tradition that Zacharias, father of John, acting as high priest, had admitted Mary after the birth of Jesus to the place in the temple reserved for

virgins, on the plea that she was still a virgin, and that he was put to death "by the men of his generation" between the temple and the altar as an offender against the law. We find the same story with variations in Basil, Cyril of Alex., Gregory of Nyssa, and others. (2) Epiphanius tells of a book called Γέννα Μαρίας among the Ophites in Egypt, which contained the story of Zacharias, but gave as the motive of the murder the disclosure by Zacharias of the secret worship of the ass on the part of the Jews. (3) A third tradition attributes the murder of Zacharias not to the Pharisees but to Herod, who, after failing to find Jesus in Bethlehem, sent to Zacharias for his son, and on his declaration that he knew not where He was, caused him to be slain. This last-named tradition, which also appears in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and in the Pseudo-Epiphanian *Vitæ Prophetarum*, is the one given independently in the Slavonic MS. with which our author deals. It forms one of the documents classed, by the Metropolitan Macarius of Moscow (1482-1563), in his great collection of hagiographical literature, under 5th Sept., the day almost universally dedicated to Zacharias, father of John. This MS. is entitled: "An account of the birth of John the Forerunner and of the Slaying of his father Zacharias." Berendts prints the text in full, with short critical notes, pp. 71-80, followed by a full and careful commentary, pp. 81-99. While Joseph took Jesus down to Egypt and remained there for twelve months, Elizabeth fled with John to the mountains. When Zacharias could not tell Herod's men where John was, they slew him near the altar, and his blood running out on the pavement became hard like stone, as a witness against Herod. Then Elizabeth, in great fear, sought refuge in the mountain, which opened up to afford her shelter, while Uriel attended to serve her and her son. After John had been four months in the mountain, the Lord, accompanied by Gabriel, came from Egypt and commanded Uriel to bring up John to the temple. In the holy place the corpse of Zacharias was revivified, and he and John were baptized by Jesus. Zacharias was then put to sleep again and buried before the altar. Jesus with Gabriel went back to Egypt, and John with Elizabeth to the wilderness. At the age of nine months John was weaned, and had wild honey given as his food; and at the age of five years Uriel dressed him in a garment of camel's hair, bound with a leathern girdle, — a robe, like the Lord's, woven without seam. Berendts concludes, p. 98, that the Slavic MS. is probably a translation from a Greek original in the form of a chronicle. It was just thus, through the Slavonic literature, that Greek texts for the most part made their way into Russia. As to the date of the Apocryphal book, it may be assigned to the 3rd or 4th cent., the peculiar features of its contents being reproduced by Eustathius,

an Antiochean writer of the 4th or 5th cent. The treatise is severely technical, and a perfect model of patient investigation of minute textual and critical details. It will prove a most useful guide to students of the Apocryphal Gospels of the childhood.

Herr Stuckert finds the distinguishing characteristics of the Catholic doctrine of repentance to arise out of the Roman tendency to enforce law and strict outward discipline. From Tertullian onward this was the point of view generally assumed. Repentance, as condition of forgiveness, was conceived of as the giving of satisfaction; the making of confession and the receiving of absolution. Against all this mechanical externalism, and the corruptions which it introduced, Augustine and Abelard made notable protests. They insisted upon the indispensableness of contrition of heart and deep humiliation because of sin; not fear of punishment but love of righteousness must lead to repentance. No mere outward performances can avail before God. Notwithstanding all such protests, the Church doctrine continued to develop more and more in the direction of a hard and unethical externalism. It reaches its full development in the distinction accepted by Tridentine and post-Tridentine theologians between *attritio* and *contritio*, between an incomplete and a complete repentance. *Attritio* is awakened by fear of hell and punishment, by *timor servilis*; *contritio* is born of child-like fear (*timor filialis*) and love. A strange vacillation is shown by Romish theologians, for while they maintain that *attritio* is sufficient for the receiving the sacrament of penance and consequent absolution, they still wish to say that these require a turning of the will from sin and a hope of forgiveness which do not belong to the idea of attrition. Earlier Jesuit directions for the confessional (*e.g.*, those of Lopez and Suarez) declare plainly that *attritio* is sufficient; yet the dying are to be advised not to rest satisfied with it. In a later Jesuit manual it is declared that a man will be saved who has often broken all the commandments of God, and has never fulfilled the first commandment of the love of God, if with mere attrition he receive the sacrament and straightway dies. This is the prevalent doctrine, which has been enforced, in opposition to the protests of Jansenism and the Synod of Pistoia, by the bull of Pius VI. in 1794. No attempted explanations by Bellarmine or Möhler can gainsay this statement. Our author further shows how in the Romish doctrine, as distinguished from the Protestant, faith is altogether overlooked. According to the Romish doctrine man is saved *solo timore*, according to the Protestant, *sola fide*. The contrast is well illustrated by an outline of Luther's teaching about repentance, and apt quotations from his

writings. The treatise concludes with an admirable and appreciative statement of the evangelical doctrine, that only in Christ have we the ideal and the power needed for complete and true repentance. The writer shows a thorough mastery of his subject, and his style is singularly interesting and clear.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

"St Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen."

By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8*vo.*, *pp.* 410, *cloth, with map,* 10*s.* 6*d.*

FIRST NOTICE.

IN an interesting note (*Church in the Roman Empire, p.* 6), Professor Ramsay tells us how he submitted with reluctance to the examination in Divinity, required of all Oxford undergraduates reading for "Greats," and how he dates from the study of *Galatians* for this examination, and of Bishop Lightfoot's edition of that Epistle, a fresh epoch in his own thought and work. If, as we may assume, his previous books, and his recent account of St Paul, are two of the results of the studies commenced in undergraduate days, all students of theology and literature may be thankful that the interest thus awakened has been so ably and so brilliantly sustained.

In the opening page of the book before us, Professor Ramsay asks how an unprejudiced citizen of the Roman empire would have regarded the new social force, *i.e.*, Christianity, if he had studied it with the eyes and temper of a nineteenth century investigator? His first duty would have been to make up his mind about the trustworthiness of his authorities. The authorities are two (1) a work of history commonly entitled the *Acts*; (2) certain Epistles, purporting to be written by Paul. Of (2) Professor Ramsay proposes to make only slight and incidental use, but we may notice in passing that he acknowledges the authenticity of the Epistles of St Paul contained in the New Testament, and that he adds that even those who dispute the authenticity of these writings would admit that the facts used are trustworthy, as being the settled belief of the Church at a very early period (p. 1). But we find that Professor Ramsay has made an important advance upon the theory maintained as to the composition of *Acts* in his former book. The "Travel Document" is Luke's own written notes, his diary where he was an eyewitness; and his notes of conversation with Paul and

others were worked into the book of *Acts* (p. 384). If we turn back to p. 4, we find Professor Ramsay placing the author of *Acts* among historians of the first rank, because he shows the true historian's power of seizing great facts, and marking clearly the stages of development in his subject. It is this sense of proportion in *Acts* which most impresses Professor Ramsay. But it is somewhat startling to find that from his standpoint, it is not he, but critics like Bishop Lightfoot who would reduce *Acts* to a second-rate history, in their attempt to identify the wrong events, and in their avowed principle that *Acts* is full of gaps and disproportion (p. 19).

But we may venture to suggest that Bishop Lightfoot was no less alive than Professor Ramsay to the plan of St Luke, and to its development. *Acts* i. 8 strikes the keynote of the book (comp. *St Luke* xxiv. 48), and the words correspond, as Dean Plumptre pointed out, to the great divisions of the *Acts*—Jerusalem i. vii., Judea, ix. 32; xii. 19; Samaria viii.,[1] while with regard to the latter part of the verse, Bishop Lightfoot has himself reminded us that the success of Paul's preaching in Rome was a fitter termination to the history of the *Acts* than any other incident which could have been chosen, "it is the most striking realisation of that promise of the universal spread of the Gospel, which is the starting-point of the narrative" (*Philippians*, Introd. p. 3).

Passing from the trustworthiness of the book to its hero, Professor Ramsay lays stress upon two or three facts, of which an apologist may fairly make use. He points out that in *Acts*, as in the Epistles, Paul is represented as in agreement with the older Apostles, that the Paul of *Acts* is the Paul of the letters, and that such a view of the whole position could not have been taken by a second century writer, when the Church had passed into new circumstances, and was interested in different questions (p. 22).

In Chapter II. the family and personality of St Paul are discussed more fully. Professor Ramsay makes an interesting point in suggesting that at a later stage in his career, in his appeal to Rome, the apostle must have been possessed of some considerable private means. His previous poverty is best explained on the supposition that the bitter Pharisaic spirit of his family showed itself, not merely in driving him from the home-circle, but in depriving him of wealth and influence. To this we shall return.

Some of the most important historical questions, raised in the following pages, gather round a memorable incident in the early

[1] Comp. the remarks of Professor Blass, pp. 12, 13, in *Prolegomena* to his edition of *Acts*, 1895. If it appears strange that witness to "the utmost parts of the earth" (*Acts* i. 8) is fulfilled by Paul's coming to Rome, it is perhaps worth noting that in *Psalms of Solomon* viii. 16, we read of Pompey, that he came ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς—*i.e.*, Rome—the same phrase as in *Acts* i. 8.

history of the Church at Antioch. Saul and Barnabas are the delegates chosen to carry relief to the brethren in Judæa, and thus Saul's second visit to Jerusalem is regarded and related by Luke as an important moment in the development of the Church (p. 52). For the delegates—in Professor Ramsay's view—did not merely convey money; they brought food and gave it, encouraging and comforting the distressed (pp. 50-52). And thus far distant parts of the Church are united—the poor in Jerusalem recognise a sense of brotherhood, and to Antioch there was given "that consciousness of native life and power, which comes only from noble work nobly done" (p. 52).

In Professor Ramsay's opinion, we have another account of this second visit to Jerusalem: Gal. ii. 1-10 describes this visit, and not, as is held by almost all critics, the third. But Professor Ramsay's view, amongst other demands, requires us to believe that the special and primary object of the visit to Jerusalem, narrated in Gal. ii., was to help the poor, although, doubtless, another purpose was achieved in that journey, but that was a mere private piece of business (p. 57). But do the words (Gal. ii. 10) "One charge alone they gave us to remember the poor" really give this sense? If the Pillars of the Church knew, as *ex hypothesi* they must have known, that St Paul came to Jerusalem, bringing food and money for the poor, it seems strange that the "one charge alone" which they gave him was to do the very thing which he actually came for the purpose of doing. And if Barnabas and Saul had just been associated in helping the poor, is it not strange that we should find the first person singular (*ὅ καὶ ἐσπούδασα*) (Gal. ii. 10), as if Paul—unlike himself—would claim, to the exclusion of Barnabas, the sole credit in this work of love and danger?[1] In Acts xi. 29, moreover, the only object of the visit is the relief of the poor, and there is no hint that the question of circumcision was connected with it. Comp. *Acts* xii. 25.

But whilst we cannot accept the identification of Gal. ii. 1-10, we may fully recognise the good results which followed upon the charitable action of the Christians at Antioch, and endorse Professor Ramsay's remark, that it is no mere accidental collocation that immediately on the return of Barnabas and Saul comes the record of the flourishing state of the Church in that city, with its band of prophets and teachers (p. 64).

Chapter IV. gives us an account of the missionary journey of

[1] In the *Expositor* for March (p. 183) Professor Ramsay emphasises the fact that Luke *pointedly records* that the distribution was carried out to its completion by Barnabas and Saul in person (*Acts* xii. 25). Why then does Paul only refer to his own zeal in remembering the poor, if *Acts* xi. 29 and xii. 25 = *Gal.* ii. 1-10? Ought not *ὅ καὶ ἐσπούδασα* to be read in the light of 1 *Cor.* xvi. 1-3?

Barnabas and Saul (an account full of interest not only in the incidents narrated, but in its bearing on St Luke's character as an historian). Four Greek words contain all that is said about the passage of the missionaries through the island of Cyprus (Acts xiii. 6). The brevity of the historian is not accidental, it is typical (p. 72). No special effect followed the Apostolic preaching, and as at Salamis, the Word was proclaimed in the synagogue of the Jews, and not directly to the Gentiles. Here lay the reasons of St Luke's silence—the absence of the facts on which he always lays special stress, and which marked the stages of his history—signs of the Divine power as a guarantee of Paul's mission, and the steps by which he turned more and more to the Gentiles (p. 73). In the Magian Bar-Jesus of Paphos Professor Ramsay sees, not a false prophet, who dominated the mind of Sergius Paulus, but one of the train of *comites* who always accompanied a Roman governor. It may be that Professor Ramsay is somewhat inclined to overrate the Magian's powers and knowledge; but apart from this, the chief interest of the narrative lies in the fact that Christianity, the new religion, is here brought face to face with the strongest influence on the human will that existed in the Roman world, with a religion which completely crushed all sense of human individuality and responsibility, and dominated the moral and mental nature of its votaries (p. 79). By a marvellous stroke of historic brevity the writer sets before us the past and the present in the simple words—"Then Saul, otherwise Paul, fixed his eyes upon him and said" (p. 85). In the earlier part of the book, as a Jew among Jews, we have only the Apostle's Hebrew name. Even in Cyprus he had gone through the country as a Jew, city by city, synagogue by synagogue. But now he stands in the hall of the proconsul, and we can scarcely doubt that in such a presence he would be guided by the rule of action which he himself proclaimed (1 Cor. ix. 20). Two results follow. In the first place, as a rule, we read henceforth of Paul and Barnabas, not Barnabas and Saul; and in the second place, Paul thus inaugurates a new policy, and marks for us the second stage in the admission of the Gentiles to the Christian Church. Paul the Christian speaks in his character of a citizen of the empire to a fellow-citizen, and the result approved and ratified his step. "How delicate is the art which, by a simple change in the order of a recurring pair of names, and by the slight touch at the critical moment, 'Saul, otherwise Paul,' suggests and reveals this wide-reaching conception in Luke's mind of historical development" (p. 85).

In pursuing the further incidents of this first missionary journey, Professor Ramsay puts forward another thoughtful theory with regard to the meaning of St Paul's "thorn in the flesh." He

regards it as a chronic malarial fever, with its distressing and prostrating paroxysms, with the contempt and loathing for self which it often brings (p. 54 *ff*). The travellers reach Perga with the apparent purpose of preaching the gospel in the next districts, but for some reason there is a change of plans, and they pass rapidly to the Pisidian Antioch. The reason of this change is (in Professor Ramsay's view) Paul's serious illness. As the travellers passed from Perga to the Pisidian Antioch they would also pass from the Roman province Pamphylia to the Roman province Galatia. In his Epistle to the Galatians, Paul himself tells his converts that by reason of physical infirmity he preached the gospel unto them on the first of his two visits. Hence we may infer that Paul had an illness brought on by the enervating atmosphere of Pamphylia, which obliged him to leave Perga and come to Antioch. The situation of Antioch, some 3600 feet above the sea, marked it as a suitable place for an invalid to recruit his strength (p. 93).[1] If we ask why Luke did not state this simple fact, the answer is that he passes very lightly over the sufferings and dangers which Paul encountered: his method and purpose lay not in the recital of personal details, but in the essential facts of the evangelisation of the world (p. 93). Professor Ramsay's remarks on "the thorn in the flesh," the peculiar and striking symptoms to which he refers, and the inadequacy of the view that reference is made to some affection of eyesight, are all worthy of more than a passing reference. The history of the interpretation of St Paul's σκόλοψ is too long even to touch upon here, and if we can never arrive at a satisfactory explanation, we can at least see from his own language in 2 *Cor.* x. 4, that the suffering was a discipline in the school of Christ, just as the mysterious agony (as Dean Stanley characteristically remarked), which seized sometimes upon our own King Alfred in the midst of feast and revel, confirmed his saintliness and strengthened his heroism.

In the visit to Antioch, Professor Ramsay again sees abundant proof of St Luke's accuracy and care. He notes, *e.g.*, how the influence of the women at Antioch is in perfect accord with the manners of the country, as contrasted with what would have been the case at Athens or in an Ionian city: he lays great stress upon the fact that the Word of the Lord was said to be spread abroad throughout all the *Region*, an expression which affords a test of accuracy, and adds a new fact about the Roman administration of Galatia, in which there were a number of distinct *Regiones* (or χῶραι) (pp. 104 and 124). So, too, in the next chapter, *Acts* xiv., when the Apostles flee from Iconium, we are told that they went

[1] Comp. also *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 63, 82, 86.

"into Lycaonia, especially to the part of it which is summed up as the cities, Lystra and Derbe, and the surrounding *Region*" (xiv. 6). Here again Professor Ramsay finds a remarkable proof of accuracy and date. The description is not only accurate, but it was so at no other time except between 39-72 A.D., and its only meaning here is to distinguish between the Roman or *Galatic* part of Lycaonia, and the non-Roman part ruled by Antiochus (pp. 110, 111). This reading of the passage is strengthened by the subsequent narrative, in which Paul is described as visiting only Lystra and Derbe, and if we ask why then are we told that he proceeded not only to them but to the *Region* in which they lie, the answer is to be found in Luke's habit of defining each new sphere of work according to the existing political division (p. 112). Of course all this, *e.g.*, the placing of St Paul's illness in Pamphylia on his first missionary journey, his *sanatorium* at the Pisidian Antioch, the reference of *Gal.* iv. 13 to this illness, the technical use of the word χώρα, and much that follows (see Chap. VI.), depends upon the acceptance of the South Galatian theory, which Professor Ramsay has so powerfully advocated elsewhere, and which has provoked so much discussion, especially in the pages of the *Expositor*. If we accept this theory, then we can understand how important was the change of plan which brought St Paul to the Pisidian Antioch (p. 92), how Professor Ramsay can speak of it as "the most critical step in the Apostle's history (p. 140), removing him, as it did, from an outlying corner, and placing him on the main line of political development, at the outset of his work in Asia Minor" (pp. 139, 140). But the more we emphasise in such language the importance of this event, the more difficult appears the total silence of St Luke as to the providential illness which led to it.

Chapter VII. is devoted to the consideration of the Apostolic Council, and here again we come to an event, which brings Professor Ramsay into direct collision with the critics and commentators of widely different schools of thought. Space forbids us to enter in detail upon a very tempting subject, but there are two points which must be briefly considered: (1) the account of the Council in *Acts* xv., and its relation to *Gal.* ii.; (2) the conduct of St Peter in *Gal.* ii. 11-14. With regard to (1) not only have conservative critics like Lechler and Godet refused to regard the alleged differences between *Acts* xv. and *Gal.* ii. as irreconcilable, but scientific critics, as we may call them, like B. Weiss and Reuss,[1] and still more advanced critics like Lipsius. Nothing of course is proved by quoting the names of great critics,

[1] Compare amongst recent critics the remarks of Glöel (whose early death was the subject of so much regret) in his *Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes* 1890.

but the reasons which weighed with Reuss may commend themselves to others: the subject of the discussion in *Acts* xv. 5 and *Gal.* ii. 2 ff. is precisely the same, the reason for the decision in *Acts* xv. 12, corresponds with that mentioned in *Gal.* ii. 7 ff, whilst the proviso found in *Acts* xv. 21 unmistakably meets us again in the compact *Gal.* ii. 9.[1] With regard to (2), the strong language which Professor Ramsay uses (p. 164, 165) might almost frighten the boldest challenger of his position. But we may still venture to place against it Dr Hort's calm discussion of what he calls St Peter's plea of inopportuneness,[2] or Dr Sanday's estimate of the character of St Peter—at once powerfully impulsive, and timidly sensitive to the opinion of others—in which he finds the true explanation of the incident in *Gal.* ii. "A little more attention to this," he adds, "would have saved many doctrinaire objections to the narrative of the *Acts*, where the inconsistency, which is really one of character, is treated as if it stood in the way of the objective truth of the events."[3]

After the Council, and the start of St Paul on his second missionary journey, we come to what Professor Ramsay calls "in many respects the most remarkable paragraph in *Acts*, the first of the famous *We* sections—the call into Macedonia, and the coming of Luke (p. 198)." Luke enters into the drama of *Acts* at Troas;[4] the introduction of the first person must be intentional, and

[1] *Geschichte der H. S. des N. T.*, p. 60, 6th. edition.

[2] *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 78.

[3] Bishop Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary* ii. 436, and comp. article "Galatians" by Dr Salmon in new edition of Smith's *Bible Dictionary*.

[4] Space forbids any discussion of Codex Bezæ, the internal character of which Dr Scrivener once described as an almost inexhaustible theme. But in *Acts* xi. 28, D introduces the reading "and when *we* were gathered together, one of them, by name Agabus, said" etc. To this reading Dr Salmon refers in the Appendix to the recent editions of his *Introduction*, and there is no doubt from his remarks (pp. 592 and 597) that his own opinion with regard to the value of Codex Bezæ has undergone a great change. The reading in *Acts* xi. 28 he cites as showing that the Editor of D must have been a very remarkable person: instead of inserting a direct statement of Luke's connection with Antioch, he insinuates it quite in Luke's own manner by a "We." So too, with regard to the Apostolic Council, the reading of D in *Acts* xv. 5 affords in Dr Salmon's view an unexpected reconciliation of *Acts* and *Galatians*, in that the former represents the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem as taken at the command of the church at Antioch, while Paul states that he went up "by revelation" (p. 511): "I find it impossible to believe," writes Dr Salmon, "that it is to a corrector or reviser that we are indebted for the light thrown by D on this question." These previous remarks prepare us for the conclusion on p. 601: "I find no solution so satisfactory as Blass's view, that the reviser was Luke himself." One other reading from D will help to show us what additional light, in Dr Salmon's view, the Codex may throw upon the date and authorship of *Acts*,

everyone recognises a distinct assertion that the author was present (p. 200, 201).

And here Professor Ramsay, in sympathy with Renan as to the Macedonian origin of Luke, advocates the bold suggestion that Luke himself was "the certain man of Macedonia," who appeared to Paul in a vision—that vision which no doubt explained the previous strange intimations of God's guidance—with the cry of entreaty, "Come over and help us" (p. 200 *ff.* and 209). But does anything in the narrative justify this identification? Professor Ramsay asks, Was Luke already a Christian, or had he come under the influence of Christianity through meeting Paul at Troas? The probability of previous intercourse between the two men has given rise to some very interesting conjectures—possibly they may have met, if Luke studied as a student in the medical school of the University (as we may call it) of Tarsus. But in the chapter before us (*Acts* xvi.) the succeeding words in v. 10 "assuredly gathering that the Lord had called *us* to preach the gospel unto them," lead to the natural inference that Luke too was a preacher of the gospel, and had already done the work of an Evangelist. Professor Ramsay, however, admits that the meeting with Luke may have been sought by Paul on the ground of the former's professional skill (p. 205), and in passing we may notice that he bears testimony to the soundness of the general argument contained in Dr Hobart's *Medical Language of St Luke.* Some years ago Dr B. Weiss spoke of the supposed traces of medical language in St Luke's writings as mere *Spielerei* (*Einleitung in das N.T.*, 2nd edit., p. 555), but in the recent edition of *St Luke* in Meyer's Commentary, we find his son Johann Weiss not only referring to Dr Hobart's book, but also quoting instances from it.

In Luke's narrative of the voyage from Troas to Philippi, Professor Ramsay marks again his true Greek feeling for the sea, in the difference between the scanty details in the land journeys, and the love which notes the voyage, the winds, the runs, the

see Appendix, p. 600. See also his article on Blass's Commentary in the recent number of *Hermathena*, No. XXI., 234-242.

On the other hand, Professor Ramsay does not introduce the reading of D into his text in *Acts* xi. 28, and while he speaks of the Western Text as of priceless value, he regards it as really a second century commentary on *Acts*, which will undoubtedly afford much study, and some discoveries, in the future, but the most vivid additions to which are for the most part subsequent appendages to an already existing narrative. (*Paul the Traveller*, pp. 23-27, and a criticism on Professor Blass in *Expositor* 1895). In his recent review of Blass's work, Dr Holtzmann frankly admits that he has done much to break down the existing prejudice against the correct appreciation of D. This may undoubtedly be admitted, but for the present the caution of Dr Jülicher, (*Einleitung in das N. T.*, 271) may well be preserved.

appearances of the shores; and it is of interest to remember that Professor Ramsay, equally with James Smith of Jordanhill, holds that Luke was not a trained sailor, though he reported nautical matters with such accuracy (p. 206).

The vexed word, πρώτη, by which St Luke describes Philippi, is another indication of the historian's national training, and true Greek pride (p. 209). The rivalry between Amphipolis and Philippi for the title "First," is a situation familiar to every student of Greek history, and although, as Professor Ramsay points out, we are dependent upon this passage for the fact that Philippi had at this period claimed the title, yet the notice is in itself sufficient (p. 207). "The descriptive phrase is like a lightning flash amid the darkness of local history, revealing in startling clearness the whole situation to those whose eyes are trained to catch the character of Greek city history and city jealousies."[1] By his graphic sketch of the ventriloquist girl at Philippi, Professor Ramsay emphasises the fact that here, as at Ephesus, the opposition to Christianity came from the owners of the poor slave, who felt that their comfortable income was endangered, and who sought to revenge themselves upon the teachers who had done the mischief —a motive by no means rare in later outbursts of persecution (p. 217).

In the narrative which follows of the imprisonment of Paul and Silas, we owe our thanks to Professor Ramsay for a few simple explanations which throw light upon the whole scene. If we think, for example, of the doors of our own prisons, and of our handcuffed prisoners, we may feel puzzled at some of the incidents recorded. But the view of a Turkish prison would go a long way towards the removal of our difficulties (p. 221), and from his own observation of the great earthquakes of 1880 at Smyrna, and 1881 at Scio, Professor Ramsay had seen and noted their strangely capricious action. So, again, we might be tempted to ask, why the prisoners did not run away, when their fetters were loosed? The answer is that a semi-oriental mob would be panic-struck by an earthquake, and it was quite natural that the prisoners should make a dash for safety (p. 221)). In the subsequent scene with the prætors, Professor Ramsay makes a point of interest in remarking that the word ἀκατακρίτους "uncondemned," is misleading, if not incorrect. It seems to suggest that after fair trial the prætors might have condemned Paul to be flogged, but this was a punishment which they could not have inflicted upon a Roman citizen in

[1] The word πρώτη, even if we do not accept Professor Ramsay's explanation, cannot at all events be alleged as a proof of St Luke's inaccuracy, as hostile critics have sometimes argued, for the Greek may simply mean that it was the first city to which they came in their journey.

any case (p. 224), and the phrase which Luke thus translates shows to us his inability as a Greek "to sympathise with the delicacies of Roman usage"—it was probably *re incognitâ*, 'without investigating our case.'

At Thessalonica the work of the Apostle seems to have extended beyond the synagogue, and to have reached to the general population of the city. It is another indication of accuracy that the notice of the noble ladies, who were gathered to Paul and Silas, is quite in accordance with what we know of the position of women in Macedonia, and in Asia Minor, as compared with Athens, a prominence assigned to them by St Luke in the three Macedonian cities (pp. 227-229). Professor Ramsay rightly emphasises the danger and subtilty of the charge against Paul at Thessalonica (and beyond all doubt at Berea), in the assertion "that there is another emperor, one Jesus." In the face of such a charge, the politarchs were bound to take action, as nothing was more ruinous than even the suggestion of treason (p. 230). But the steps taken were the mildest that could have been taken in consideration of the circumstances.

In the picture drawn in chap. xi., Professor Ramsay makes us feel that if, as has been maintained, St Paul was insensible to the beauties of natural scenery, he was keenly alive to the "sights" and the culture of Athens, where he was the student of a great university, visiting an older but yet a kindred university (p. 238). But this interest was soon overpowered by indignation, as he beheld the city full of idols. This feeling prompted him not only to reason with the Jews, or any chance-comers in the market-place, but with certain also of the Stoics and Epicureans. Of these philosophers it is said that they "took hold of Paul," in which expression Professor Ramsay finds a stronger feeling that that of contempt and curiosity: it denotes here (as most frequently in *Acts*) hostile action, and the apostle is brought before the Council of Areopagus, by men full of dislike and malice, to give an account of his teaching and to undergo a test as to its character (p. 245-247).

Professor Ramsay argues that ὁ Ἄρειος πάγος is frequently used for the Court or Council of Areopagus, and that the meaning of *Acts* xvii. 19 is that the apostle stood forth in the midst of the Court before which he had been brought. The phrase, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον, is fairly translated in this way, as ἐπὶ is used in four passages in *Acts*, of bringing a person before a judge or a tribunal, and in fact ἐπὶ is the regular Lucan word in this sense.[1] Moreover, though the Council of Areopagus derived its name from Mars Hill, it did not necessarily and always meet on the Hill:

[1] *Expositor*, September 1895.

"Demosthenes is our authority that, in certain departments of its duty, it met in the King's Stoa (στοὰ βασίλειος) a large hall on the Agora. . . . No one that has any conception of what practical work means could believe that the general business of the Council was ever conducted on the exposed and confined top of the Hill. Even in cases of murder, it was doubtless only the concluding stages of the trial that took place on the sacred Hill-top."[1] In the expression thus explained by Professor Ramsay, we may therefore see another instance of the way in which Luke catches the very word employed in educated conversation (p. 261).

But if this explanation is adopted, and in favour of it Professor Ramsay makes out a strong case against Dr Blass, St Paul's address was not delivered to a malevolent band of philosophers only, but also to the general audience of the Athenian people (*Acts* xvii. 21), the *corona* which made it applause or disapproval felt not only in the theatres but even in the law-courts (p. 248). And it is evident that the apostle forgets neither section of his audience. We may venture to think that Professor Ramsay hardly attaches enough weight to the philosophical side of the address, although he acknowledges the Stoic ring in verse 22 *ff.* (p. 252). But he carefully emphasises the suggestive and important fact that both at Lystra and at Athens there is nothing overtly Christian in St Paul's words (with the exception of the truth to which the whole address before the Areopagus led up, verse 31), and that this is certainly not accidental: the author of *Acts* must have been conscious of it, and it is a strong proof of the genuineness of the speeches; no one would invent a speech for Paul which was not markedly Christian (see p. 150).

Nothing more strongly indicates the disappointment of Paul at the result of his first and only visit to Athens than the opening chapters of 1 *Corinthians*, and his determination "not to know anything save Jesus Christ and Him crucified"; and Professor Ramsay makes another interesting conjecture in suggesting that *Acts* xviii. 5 points to Luke's observation of this change and simplicity in the Apostle's preaching. Silas and Timothy find him wholly possessed by and engrossed in the Word (συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ)[2]—a strong expression, unlike anything else in the book (p. 252). In the account of St Paul at Corinth, the action of the imperial government in protecting him from the Jews, and declaring freedom in religious matters, made his residence an epoch in his life, and gave fresh clearness to the aim that Christianity should be spread throughout the civilised, *i.e.*, the Roman world (pp. 260 and 307).

R. J. KNOWLING.

[1] *Expositor*, October 1895.

[2] Dr Blass, however, seems to find in the uniqueness of the phrase a ground for the acceptance of another reading, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. 196.

Orpheus.

Untersuchungen zur griechischen, römischen, altchristlichen Jenseitsdichtung und Religion. Von Ernst Maass, ord. Prof. der classischen Philologie in Marburg. München: Beck, 1895. *Large* 8*vo, pp. vii.* 334. *Price,* 8*s.*

THIS is the latest representative of a series of *brochures* (two of them, Dieterich's *Nekyia* and Anrich's *Das antike Mysterienwesen*, have already been noticed in this review) which, following a kind of fashion during recent years, have sought to probe into that Orphic "theology" and Orphic "life" which supplied the spirit and nerve to the last dying struggle of Paganism against Christianity in the second and third centuries. *Orpheus*, however, is rather a misleading title for a work that is neither continuous nor complete. So far as the various sections have a concentrated aim, it is to prove that Orphism is originally Hellenic. But the book is not, as the title *Orpheus* might suggest, a systematic investigation into the Orphic religion either in its origin or in its subsequent conditions, but rather a series of more or less detached contributions to its history, largely based upon data taken from those later times when, in the general opinion, the bulk of existing Orphic literature had been forged by Alexandrian philosophers and Christian grammarians, and when, consequently, it is often hard to disentangle the earlier nucleus from the later accretions. Root problems, such as those of the relations of Onomacritus (6th cent. B.C.) to "Orpheus" and "Musæus," his literary honesty, or dishonesty in the service of his religion, the date and origin of the rhapsodist "Theogony" (on which Lobeck and Zeller held different views), and other questions germane to the title assumed, are left in the main untouched. At the same time it must be said that what the author has been content to do displays great learning and considerable ingenuity, though his method is not always convincing, nor are his results by any means invariably unassailable.

He commences with a chapter on *Athens and the Orphic Religion*, arguing that in the spiritual stir preparing the way for Christianity and pervading the early Christian centuries, Athens, with Greece generally (except the city of Corinth, the metropolis of Greece by natural situation and Roman influence, but of all Greek cities the least Greek), had remained conservative, seeking satisfaction, not in a congeries of new cults from abroad, but in harking back to the cults that were ancient and national. "The wild license of international god-mixing had no footing in Athens" (p. 8). Yet the State care for the worship and festivals of the gods had

decayed with the diminution of population and the growth of poverty, as Athens descended from her first rank as a city and as an emporium, to be a provincial town of moderate consequence, living upon students and strangers. Yet she was fain still to claim the primacy in clinging to the old faith, and so upon rich individual citizens, when available, fell the duty of supplementing the deficiencies of State devotion. Among these was Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, better known as Herodes Atticus to those who have wandered about the Odeum below the Acropolis. Herr Maass, with good reason, fixes upon him as the Claudius Herodes of a second century inscription recently discovered at Athens in a sacred precinct of Dionysus "of the wine-press," where, among signs of the later date, are found also remains of the sixth century B.C. This precinct seems to have been abandoned by the State, perhaps after desecration during Sulla's invasion (first century B.C.), and to have been taken over by the devotees of the Iobacchic cult, of which cult Herodes Atticus now appears in the inscription as the incoming priest and reorganiser. But the author views this inscription, with its ceremonial regulations, not merely as a monument of the religion of its time, but as an index to a much older period, when the cult now represented by the Iobacchic society was a general cult provided for by the State. The private cult of this society the author dates at least as far back as those private cults which overran Greece before the Sullan period, and makes it akin to the *θίασοι*, or "brotherhoods," which can be traced to the fifth century B.C., and which, in opposition to the extreme view of Foucart, Herr Maass associates with Greek, and not with foreign deities alone. He further argues that the Iobacchic cult, as exhibited in the inscription, included in its circle of deities the triad, Dionysus, Corè, Orpheus, and that this was also the triad of the Lesser Mysteries—the mysteries of Agrae beyond the Ilissus—which, having been originally celebrated separately by Athens, became connected with the Eleusinian Mysteries when Athens had subjugated Eleusis. Thus it will be seen that the author is not content with the view that Orphic elements had intruded themselves into the State cults, but asserts that Orphism was itself a recognised State cult, Orpheus being anciently and organically connected with Corè (Persephone) and with Dionysus (whose *Vorgänger* he was), and Dionysus and Orpheus being, according to Herr Maass, not originally Thracian, but originally Hellenic divinities. For the detailed arguments by which (in some cases successfully) the author supports these and minor conclusions, we must refer our readers to the book itself. Suffice it to say here that some of the links are weak. For the presence of Orpheus as a deity in the Iobacchic cult he has to rely

in the main upon two titles of very doubtful signification in the list of persons among whom the offerings were to be divided, βουκολικός and πρωτεύρυθμος. The former he defines as the priest of Orpheus, who was the βουκόλος or shepherd of his community, and the latter he translates as "the master of song, music, and the dance"; and who can this be but Orpheus himself? In both interpretations he is at variance with Dörpfeld. For the organic connection of Orpheus with the Lesser Mysteries he refers to the *Rhesus* of Euripides (or pseudo-Euripides) and to Plato. But he seems not to distinguish sufficiently between mysteries celebrated *in* the State and mysteries recognised and celebrated *by* the State, or to allow sufficient weight to Plato's "bitter mockery" of the Orphic literature possessed and the Orphic purificatory ceremonies promoted by quacks and soothsayers of his time, who went about among the rich from door to door professing to have power from heaven to expiate any crime by sacrifices and incantations—a bitter mockery hardly possible for Plato if Orphism had been a recognised State cult and Athens had solemnly celebrated the Orphic mysteries. The ancillary evidence, which he adduces from Apollonius of Tyana (first century A.D.), Clemens Alexandrinus (second century), Himerius (fourth century), and Nonnos (fifth or sixth century), is of too late a date to be effective.

The part of the book immediately following this is practically a structure based upon it. The second chapter supports the theory that Orpheus was a Greek god, but evidence drawn from the genealogies of Attic demes does not seriously shake the tradition of his Thracian origin sanctioned by Æschylus. The other chapters are full of Orphic material from the Orphic Book of Hymns, from the Descent of Vibia to Hades—in which Herr Maass decides that there is no Christian element—and from the Apocalypses—pagan, Jewish, and Christian—with special reference, of course, to the Apocalypse of Peter, in which the presence of Orphic elements, in phraseology at any rate, is generally admitted. In these sections the criticism is often delicate and the treatment suggestive. An excellent index closes the book and adds materially to its handiness and value.

J. Massie.

Notices.

In two noble volumes, splendidly printed and presented in a form in every way worthy of the Clarendon Press, Mr Gladstone issues his edition of the *Works of Joseph Butler, D.C.L., sometime Bishop of Durham.*[1] These volumes are to be followed by another,

[1] Oxford: Clarendon Press. Demy 8vo, pp. xxxvii. 461, 464. Price 28s.

in which Mr Gladstone is expected to give, in a series of *Essays*, his mature estimate of Butler, and his judgment on things in the *Analogy* and *Sermons* which had to be omitted or but briefly handled in the present work. These Essays will be eagerly looked for. But meantime it is much to get this superb edition, which at once throws all others into the shade. Bishop Fitzgerald, indeed, in what he did for the *Analogy*, made some approach to what an edition of Butler should be. But, on the whole, the works of the great Bishop have been somewhat poorly dealt with in this respect, and it is all the more welcome to get now, at last, one that far surpasses any hitherto attempted. The points in which it is easily superior to all others meet the eye at once. In the first place it is the only complete edition. The first volume contains, together with the Analogy, the two dissertations "Of Personal Identity" and "Of the Nature of Virtue," and the correspondence with Clarke. The second volume contains, in addition to the Sermons, Documents extracted from "Some Remains (hitherto unpublished) of Joseph Butler, LL.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Durham"; two Letters from Butler to the Duke of Newcastle; a conversation between Butler and Wesley; a letter from Whitefield to Butler; a letter to a lady on Church Property; a sermon published for the first time by Bartlet and regarded as probably genuine. It is also the only edition that can claim to have given sufficient attention to the text. In particular the text of the Analogy has been revised with the help of the corrections and collations furnished by Fitzgerald. The usefulness of the edition is increased by the preparation of sectional divisions and headings, abundant indices, and occasional notes. These latter, however, are neither lengthy nor frequent, but limited to such as are most needful for elucidation or most apposite for illustration. Mr Gladstone proceeds upon the just principle that the editor should come in as little as possible between the author and the reader. He has, therefore, restrained himself in the matter of annotation. Yet the remarks which he does allow himself are of much interest, sometimes as expressing his views on philosophical questions, sometimes as indicating his estimate of the permanent value of Butler's work, sometimes for other reasons. An enormous amount of labour has been spent on these volumes. Much of it is not of the kind that catches the common eye. But it has been a labour of love, and it has been well spent. We have travelled far, it is true, since Butler wrote; the questions which we have to face are very different from those which pressed on him and his time; and the answer which was adequate to Deistic thought is not so applicable to the problems of our century. But there is an element in Butler's work that will survive. There are principles in it

which will give it a classical value, and the veteran statesman has the satisfaction of having provided the classical edition.

Few men belonging to any of the branches of the Scottish Church of our day have had the place in public esteem which was spontaneously given to Dr John Cairns.[1] Few men have thought less of distinction, or have been more desirous of doing the work to which God has called them, in quietness and simplicity. The honours which fell to him were wholly unsought by him, and often declined. But the man was too great to escape public notice and recognition. His gifts were too large, his acquisitions too extensive, his character too strong in its rare unconsciousness and disregard of self, to make it possible for him to avoid exercising a wide public influence. The story of his life deserved to be told, and the task of telling it could not have been committed to better hands than those of Dr Alexander MacEwen. The book is a large one. One's first impression is that it is too large for its subject, and its materials. But that is an impression which soon fades as one reads. There is not much we could well part with. The Letters are numerous, but not too many for their purpose. They show us what the man was on different sides of his character, his interests, and his actions. They give us an insight, which is worth having, into the workings of his mind, his immense conscientiousness, the enormous pains he took in making up his mind on any public question, the tenderness of his feelings, the depth of his family affections, his profound and robust piety, his scrupulous fairness, his consideration for the positions and views of those opposed to him, his readiness to prefer others to himself, his modesty, his rugged strength of purpose. All this and much else give us the picture of one of those lives which enrich a people, and we should not like to miss any of the things that go to make that picture.

The book more than justifies the popular impression of Dr Cairns's intellectual powers. His faculty for philosophical inquiry is well known to have been large. It might have led him to high academic position and to a great name among thinkers, had not his sense of duty to his Church and congregation concentrated his energies elsewhere. His gift for the acquisition of languages, too, was understood to be exceptional. But this volume gives us a new idea of his devotion to linguistic studies, and his facility in mastering different tongues. There is much else of interest in the *Life*—records of his intercourse with eminent men: memorials of a conversation with Wordsworth, glimpses of recent ecclesiastical

[1] Life and Letters of John Cairns, D.D., LL.D. By Alexander MacEwen, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Second edition, 8vo, pp. xv., 799. Price, 14s.

movements in Scotland, of doctrinal controversies, of the currents of theological thought in Germany and elsewhere. The book, in short, takes hold of the reader, and retains his attention. Dr MacEwen has done a good bit of work, and he has done it in excellent taste and style, never obtruding himself.

Messrs Maclear and Williams have writtten *An Introduction to the Articles of the Church of England.*[1] The volume has been in preparation for some time, and is published as one of Messrs Macmillan's *Theological Manuals.* The authors give first a statement of the origin and history of the Articles. This is brief, occupying only 22 pages. While sufficiently good so far as it goes, it would not have suffered by extension. The Articles are then taken up in five groups, and the doctrinal sense of each clause is expounded, references to Scripture and frequent quotations from theological and historical literature being furnished in foot-notes. There is also an Appendix, dealing with the Lambeth Articles and furnishing Chronological Tables and good Indices. The plan of the work is expository, and the controversial element appears but little. The authors disavow any thought of competing with works like those of Bishops Burnet, Beveridge, Browne, and Forbes. Their object is a more limited one, and they aim specially at "clearness and distinctness of statement." In this they have succeeded well, and the book will meet the needs of a considerable class of English readers.

The Principal of Ely Theological College publishes a Series of Addresses on the *Decalogue*, originally delivered to students preparing for Ordination. They are sensible, unambitious, devotional expositions of the Commandments.[2]

Professor W. H. Bennett contributes a volume on *The Theology of the Old Testament,*[3] to the *Theological Educator* Series. Only those who have attempted the task can understand what it means to comprise within the limits of so small a volume a digest of the numerous, diverse, and intricate questions belonging to a scientific statement of the great ideas of the Old Testament. Professor Bennett has succeeded in providing a remarkably distinct, full, and informing summary of these questions. He divides his matter into two unequal parts—*Jehovah and Israel*, and *God and the Universe.* The former necessarily occupies almost the whole volume.

[1] By the Rev. G. F. Maclear, D.D., Warden of St Augustine's College, Canterbury, etc., and the Rev. W. W. Williams, M.A., formerly Vice-Principal of the Missionary College, Dorchester, etc. London: Macmillan & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. xii. 447. Price, 10s. 6d.

[2] The Law of Sinai. By B. W. Randolph, M.A. London: Longmans. Small 8vo, pp. viii. 194. Price, 3s. 6d.

[3] London: Hodder & Stoughton. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xvii. 218. Price, 2s. 6d.

For the latter, a few pages are all that can be given. A sketch of the history of Israel, which helps the appreciation of the ideas, very properly precedes the Exposition of the Theology. Then follow chapters on the *Ideal Israel, Jehovah as the God of Israel, Israel as the People of Jehovah,* and *Jehovah and the Israelites.* Under each of these heads the main particulars of the subject receive careful, scholarly treatment. The author's self-restraint and disciplined judgment are seen in his statements on such topics as the Doctrine of Sacrifice, the Messianic Idea, the Conception of the Future Life. The volume is a worthy companion to Professor Adeney's *Theology of the New Testament.* It has the best qualities of a Text-book.

Several additions, each with its own special features, have recently been made to the excellent series of *Books for Bible Students,* edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory. One of these is a study of the Revelation of St John, described as the *Divine Parable of History,* by H. Arthur Smith, M.A., of the Middle Temple.[1] Mr Smith, who passes a cordial encomium on the fairness and acuteness of Dionysius of Alexandria in his discussion of the question of authorship, sees no reason to doubt the ancient and continuous opinion of the Church, "which identifies the revealing seer with the disciple whom Jesus loved." He accepts the view which takes the book to have been written shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, within or soon after Nero's reign. On this basis, and following Tyconius, Augustine, Alford, and other advocates of the "resumptive theory," he expounds the Apocalypse as a book which tells us how, in a time when the Church had need of the Divine help as she never had before, the Divine intervention came and the Divine encouragement was given. The volume reads well. It is written with taste and without pretence. It should "encourage perusal afresh," as the author hopes it may do, "of words so pregnant with instruction and consolation."

Another contribution is made to the same series by Thomas G. Selby on *The Ministry of the Lord Jesus.*[2] It is in the main a treatise on our Lord's teaching, and it is one with a distinct value of its own. In style it is all that Mr Selby's former writings have led us to expect from his expert and cultured pen. In matter it follows a selective method which omits some things usually included, and adds others usually passed by or less definitely dealt with. It gives a representation of our Lord's teaching, which does not aim at anything like completeness, but fixes on certain of its prominent lines, and brings these close to understanding and to life. This representation is given, moreover, not in the form of a systematic

[1] London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 256. Price, 2s. 6d.

[2] London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 315. Price, 2s. 6d.

exposition of the topics, but rather in that of popular addresses such as belong to the highest work of the pulpit. In this way we have chapters on Christ's *Counsels against Worldly Care*, His *View of the Scriptures*, His *Ideal of Prayer*, His teaching about His own *Death*, and about *Heaven*, His *View of Retribution*, and the like. Along with these we have statements on such subjects as the *Springs of Authority*, the *Racial Limitations of the Ministry*, the *Sensitiveness of the Teacher to His Environment*, and these are all fresh and full of interest. Among many excellent things in Mr Selby's volume there is nothing better than his wise and weighty words on our Lord's interpretation of His own death, and on the place given in His teaching to the doctrine of final retribution.

The third addition to the same series is a study of *The Books of the Prophets in their Historical Succession*,[1] by Professor G. G. Findlay, of Headingley College. Professor Findlay has made some important contributions to New Testament subjects, and his volume on *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle* has deservedly won wide and appreciative acceptance. He now enters the field of Old Testament scholarship, and this new effort of his careful pen certainly shows him to be well entitled to do so. The present volume is the first of a series of three, which are intended to cover the whole field. It covers the period closing with the Fall of Samaria. The second volume will carry the exposition on to the Chaldean Exile, including Isaiah i.-xxxix. and Jeremiah. The third volume will take us on to the cessation of Prophecy, and will embrace Ezekiel, the second half of Isaiah, and the Post-Exilian writers. The object of the whole is to furnish English readers with a "continuous historical introduction" to the Prophetic writings. Something has been done in this way already by Professor Kirkpatrick, Dr A. Duff, and especially Mr Buchanan Blake, with which last Professor Findlay agrees in the main in the matter of the chronological arrangement of the books. But there is much for the Church to do yet in the exercise of her right and duty to "examine and rectify her Biblical traditions," and there is ample room for further studies such as Professor Findlay here makes. For, as he justly remarks, "for some time to come it will be the work of Criticism—the higher (literary) and the lower (textual) Criticism—by the aid of the fresh tools that God has put into the Church's hand, and under the impulse and guidance of the wonderful light that His providence is now shedding upon the ancient world, to remove the obstacles which a faulty tradition has set in that way, to illuminate its dark places and recover the lost thread of its broken and disjointed passages." What Professor Findlay has done in this first instalment of his contemplated work is to give the introductory

[1] London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 297. Price, 2s. 6d.

information which is most needed on the idea and vocation of the Old Testament prophet, his names and titles, and the form and contents of his writings; and then to give an orderly exposition of the prophetic succession in the Pre-Assyrian, Assyrian-Israelite, and Assyrian-Judean ages respectively. The prophecies dealt with, therefore, are those of Obadiah, Joel, Isaiah xv. xvi., Amos, Hosea, the earlier Zechariah, and Micah. All are presented in their historical situations, and the book closes appropriately with a statement of the doctrine of the earlier prophets. In undertaking this series of studies, Professor Findlay looks to the fact that "the traditional setting of the Old Testament, received by the Church from the Synagogue, is undergoing a revision—a recasting indeed—which to observant minds has long seemed inevitable." He speaks wisely of the "very serious issues" depending on "the temper in which the pending revision, and the debates that it involves, are carried on." Books like this, small as they may be, should do something to prevent the disastrous possibility of a confessed breach between historical science and Christian faith.

In 1887 Mr G. J. Spurrell, Hebrew Lecturer at Wadham College, Oxford, published a volume on the *Text of Genesis*,[1] which was at once recognised as a great help to students and teachers, and a welcome example of the best and soundest type of English scholarship. It has been largely used and much appreciated during these years, and it now appears in a second edition, revised and corrected. It is a larger book by some forty pages. Much attention is given to matters of geography, all questions of site and the like being brought up to date. The best use is made of the most recent additions to our knowledge of Hebrew grammar. Many of the Notes are recast, and many new ones are added. Above all an *Introduction* is given, which provides a remarkably succinct and helpful *vidimus* of the history and particulars of Criticism, the theories of the different documents, analyses of the grammar and vocabulary of these documents, and a statement of the way in which *Genesis* may have been compiled out of J, E, and P. There is also an elaborate appendix on the names of God. Able, learned, and useful as the book was in its first form, it is made much more so now. No pains have been spared by the author to bring it up to the ripest scholarship of the day. Nor has anything been wanting on the part of the Clarendon Press to present it in the best form.

The son has judged rightly of what is worthy of the father's memory in publishing *The Epistle of James and Other Discourses*,[2]

[1] Notes on the Book of Genesis. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. lxiii. 416. Price, 12s 6d.

[2] London, Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pt. ix. 315. Price, 6s.

by the late Dr R. W. Dale of Birmingham. Some of the discourses which make up this volume have already appeared in the *British Weekly*, but they are welcome also as part of this book. The first and smaller section of the volume contains a series of ten lectures on the Epistle. The second and larger section is occupied with a series of ten sermons on various topics—the *Two Gospels*, the *Parable of the Prodigal and the Doctrine of the Atonement*, *Perfect Salvation*, *Personal Responsibility*, and others. All are marked by the strong sense, logical statement, and robust style of the late lamented author. These qualities are not less conspicuous in the expositions of the great passages of the Epistle of James than in the select sermons. It would be difficult indeed to point to any section of the New Testament more congenial to the strong, reasonable, practical genius of Dr Dale, than this Epistle, and in dealing with it for pulpit purposes, the great preacher must have been often at his best. The volume is an acceptable addition to others left us by Dr Dale.

The second volume of the English translation of Weizsäcker's stimulating work on *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*[1] embraces Books IV. and V. of the original, those dealing with the *Farther Development* and with the *Church*. The translation is by the Rev. James Millar, B.D.; it is both correct and in good style. The volume itself is full of interest, and as is the case with all the author's writings, rich in suggestion. Two chapters are devoted to Jerusalem, in connection with which we get Professor Weizsäcker's views of James and the Christ-Party, Ebionitism, the Epistle of James, the Discourses in Matthew and Luke, and the Narratives. The announcements of judgments in Matthew xxiv., are referred to about the year A.D. 66, before the flight to Pella. Different historical strata are distinguished in the Synoptists. The records of incidents like the feeding of the multitude and the Transfiguration are assigned to the later tradition, and are dealt with as narratives so far created by the faith in Jesus. Two chapters are next given to Rome, Paul, and the Roman Church, Peter and Clement's Epistle coming under review in this section. Then four chapters of very great interest are occupied with Ephesus, in which we get a careful discussion of the Johannine tradition, and a penetrating analysis of the Apocalypse, the Fourth Gospel, and allied compositions. The fifth book is taken up mostly by a minute examination of the questions relating to the meetings of the congregation, ecclesiastical order, the celebration of the sacraments, liturgical forms, and the development of the constitution of the Church. In connection with this, the origin and nature of the offices of presbyter, bishop, and teacher are investigated. The

[1] London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 425. Price 10s. 6d.

concluding chapter deals with the ethics under three divisions—Jewish Christianity, Paul and Gentile Christianity, and Later Growths. The work, it needs scarce be said, has attained a great reputation for the acuteness of its discussions, the fertility of its ideas, and the novel setting it gives to many things. It has not a few doubtful and assailable positions, especially in its criticism of the New Testament writings, as in the case of Acts and the Fourth Gospel. But at many points it makes allowances which would have been strange to Baur, and it gives a picture of the Apostolic Age in its unity and variety, of the apostolic literature, and of the apostolic men, which the student of Primitive Christianity, whether on the literary side or on the ecclesiastical, cannot afford to disregard.

Professor George B. Stevens of Yale University, who has written well on the *Pauline Theology* and the *Johannine Theology*, publishes a volume of a different kind under the title of *Doctrine and Life.*[1] It contains a series of studies of "the principal truths of the Christian religion in their *relation to Christian experience.*" It opens with a chapter in which the primary question is dealt with—"What is the relation of doctrine to life; of theology to religion?" The various replies given to this question by Roman Catholics and different orders of Protestants are succinctly stated, and the underlying unity is exhibited. Then follow essays on the soul as "naturally Christian"; Belief in God, Revelation and the Bible, the Trinity, the Person of Christ, Sin, Atonement, the Future Life, and other fundamental Christian doctrines. Each of these truths is considered in the light of the attestation which it finds in Christian experience, in its adaptation to the needs of the soul and its use in the Christian life. The idea of the book is well conceived, and it is ably carried out. The statements made on these great subjects are reverently thought out, and cannot fail to profit and instruct.

The projectors of the *Theological Translation Fund* judged rightly when they decided on including Hausrath's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* in their series. The first instalment of the undertaking was given so far back as 1878, and the second in 1880. So far only the first portion of Hausrath's work—that on *The Time of Jesus*—was finished. At last, however, we have now the whole treatise in English, the *Theological Translation Library* having continued and completed the task begun by the *Theological Translation Fund.* In four handsome volumes we have Hausrath's presentation of *The Time of the Apostles.*[2] The translation, which reads

[1] New York: Silver, Burdett & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 247.

[2] London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 4 vols. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 215; viii. 240; viii. 276; viii. 295. Price 10s. 6d. each vol.

well, is by Mr Leonard Huxley. The whole work is introduced by a Preface from the pen of Mrs Humphry Ward, of which all that need be said is that it has all the attractiveness of her easy and pleasant style, and something of her rapid and precarious fashion of disposing of critical and historical questions.

In providing this good rendering of Hausrath's volumes, Messrs Williams & Norgate have done a great service to the English reader. For Hausrath's work has the double interest of being a fresh contribution to the subjects of which it treats, and at the same time a piece of admirable writing. It has the note of style which is so lacking in the German theologians, and it has the rare quality of artistic skill in its construction. It holds a place of its own, too, among books of its order. It follows its own plan and concentrates its strength on parts of the field of enquiry, which are less attended to in other treatises of the kind. Among other things, Professor Hausrath's review of the condition of religious life in the Roman Empire—the stages in the development of Polytheism, the mysteries and the cults, is particularly vivid and instructive. The account given of the religious mission of the Jewish Dispersion is not less luminous. But the best things probably are to be found in the chapters which deal with Paul's history, ministry, and influence. In these chapters we have the fruits of independent and protracted studies, which Professor Hausrath also embodied in his well-known and valuable treatise *Der Apostel Paulus*. In his *Time of the Apostles* we find some modifications of his former positions. Less is made, for instance, of the direct testimony of the Fourth Gospel. But, generally speaking, he adheres to the opinions expressed elsewhere,—the vision-hypothesis, the identification of the appearance to the five hundred brethren with the event reported as the descent of the Spirit in the second chapter of Acts, the theory of the inclusion of two letters in Second Corinthians, and others. But the work is a brilliant study from which much is to be learned.

We are glad to see the issue of another section of the *International Critical Commentary*, which has made so admirable a start with Professor Driver's *Deuteronomy*, Professor Sanday and Mr Headlam's *Romans*, and Professor Moore's *Judges*. The new volume is *The Gospel according to St Mark*,[1] by Professor Ezra P. Gould, of the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia. We can say of it at present only that, while it follows the general plan of exposition adopted in the former volumes of the series, it makes a special study of the Second Gospel in the light of the prevailing critical theory of the inter-

[1] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. vi. 317. Price 10s. 6d.

dependence of the Synoptists and the priority of Mark. This is what gives it a distinct character and a special place among commentaries on this Gospel.

The Rev. Henry Veale, B.A., of University College, Durham, has prepared, "at the advanced age of seventy-nine," as he explains in a few modest words in the Advertisement, a painstaking edition of *The Devotions of Bishop Andrewes* in the Greek and Latin Texts.[1] This edition is constructed on the basis of that of 1828, but with a careful collation of other editions, including the original of 1675. It is furnished with very complete indices, new head-lines, a glossary of selected words, a very useful arrangement into sectional paragraphs, and a series of references and notes which add to its value. There is also an Introduction which deals, among other things, with the theological opinions of Andrewes. Here the editor gives good proof of the Bishop's belief in the great doctrines of grace, and also investigates the question of his views and practice on the subject of intercession for the dead. He rebuts the charge that has been made against Wright, the bishop's amanuensis, of suppressing in his MS. the prayers for the departed, and further contends that there is no sufficient evidence to shew that Andrewes either favoured or offered such prayers. The editor himself expresses his own strong conviction that "the doctrinal truths of the Gospel of Christ can find no place for such a practice." There are other things of interest in the Introduction and Notes. But it is enough to say that the primary purpose which Mr Venables has had in view is to make these Devotions "more accessible and more popular," and that this purpose should be made good by his edition.

The handsome volume entitled *Thoughts and Aspirations of the Ages*,[2] consists of a large and impressive collection of choice passages, both in prose and in poetry, from the religious writings of the world. It is a book of the kind published by Mr Moncure Conway some twenty years ago under the title of *A Book of Ethnical Scriptures*, and it is issued at the instance of the South Place Ethical Society, London. It is on a larger scale, however, than Mr Conway's work, and does not limit itself to extracts taken from Oriental literature. Beginning with passages representing the wisdom and the exalted sentiment of Egypt, China, India, Persia, Greece, and Rome, it next lays Judaism, Primitive Christianity, Islam, Sufiism, Medieval Christianity, and most of the branches of the Modern Church under contribution. It concludes with representations of the best thought of Positivism, Sikhism, the

[1] London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 431. Price 8s. 6d.

[2] Edited by William Chatterton Coupland, D.Sc., M.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. xiv. 715. Price 10s. 6d.

Brahma-Somaj, Babiism, and with a number of miscellaneous and unclassified excerpts. It would be an improvement to have the names of the writers and writings given with the passages themselves, instead of in a separate general list. The work is done with good sense and in a catholic spirit. It makes a valuable addition to the *Half-guinea International Library.*

Bishop Ellicott issues a second series of his *Foundations of Sacred Study.*[1] The subjects dealt with in the seven addresses which make up the volume are well chosen for their timeliness and importance; and they are expounded with the Bishop's usual fulness of information, precision, and practical purpose. Three of the addresses are given to the principles of Christian Ethics, their application and their development. These are the best. The prescribed limits preclude anything beyond a general statement; but that is given in an admirably clear, telling, and informing manner. Two addresses on Biblical History and Archæology follow, which summarise the main results of recent discoveries and their bearings on the verification and elucidation of Scripture. The volume closes with a statement on Church History, especially on Early Church History, with the view of awakening the interest of clerical brethren in a subject which Bishop Ellicott believes suffers from neglect with many, and of furnishing some guidance in its study. There is at times an unreasonable fear of the ways of criticism. These addresses, however, should be of much use to those for whom they were specially prepared.

A scholarly addition is made to the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* by the Rev. A. E. Humphreys in his Commentary on *The Epistles to Timothy and Titus.*[2] The question of the Pauline authorship of these Epistles is dealt with at considerable length. The main objections taken from the kind of ecclesiastical organisation which appears to be implied in the Pastorals, the peculiarities of style, the difficulty of harmonising the historical references with the account we get elsewhere of Paul's career, and the supposed indications of a too developed type of heresy, are stated very fairly and are carefully weighed. The strength of the external evidence furnished by the witness of the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, the versions, the churches, the historian Eusebius, and the councils is forcibly brought out. Much space is given to the consideration of the Internal Evidence, in connection with which we may specially refer to the judicious statement of the relation of these Epistles to the whole question of Early Church order. This is done in the form of a review of the four great epochs in the history of the organisation and teaching of the Christian Church, which

[1] London: S. P. C. K. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 228. Price 2s. 6d.

[2] Cambridge: University Press. Extra fcap. 8vo, pp. vi. 271. Price 3s.

are marked by the dates A.D. 33, 66, 99, 133. All this is particularly well handled. The conclusion reached is that the Pastoral Epistles are by Paul, and that the weight of the scholarship of the present day is really on this side. The exegesis of the Epistles is exact without going into superfluous niceties. The book will take a good place in the able series to which it belongs.

Emeritus-Professor W. P. Dickson of the University of Glasgow, so well known by his Mommsen, his edition of Meyer, his Baird Lectures on *St Paul's use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit*, and other publications, sends a pamphlet on the volume, *The Saviour in the New Light*,[1] which was reviewed in the January number of this Journal. Mr Robinson's book is subjected to a minute, critical analysis, which leaves none of its statements unnoticed. Its faults in scholarship, in taste, in judgment, are brought into the light with a faithful, though not unkind, hand. Dr Dickson's conclusion is that the author "sits loose from the recognised principles and rules of exegesis," and that his "attempted construction consists not of a series of objective statements of historical fact ascertained from testimony, but of a congeries of subjective judgments on his own part, couched in various forms . . . and entitling the performance . . . to rank among the curiosities of literature."

Messrs Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier have projected a new series of brief, moderately-priced Lives of *Famous Scots*. They begin with Carlyle,[2] and the beginning is a worthy one. Mr Macpherson has produced a thoroughly readable and appreciative study of the Sage of Chelsea. The main points in his career are presented in a clear, quick narrative, which keeps the attention, and never wearies. The closing chapter gives a short, but well-considered, statement of the position assignable to Carlyle as a social and political thinker. The series starts well, and should be popular.

We notice with pleasure a second edition of *The Master's Guide for His Disciples*,[3] an arrangement of our Lord's sayings "for easy consultation and systematic reading," which has had a wide and well-deserved circulation.

To Mr A. E. Brooke, Dean of King's College, we are indebted for an edition of *The Commentary of Origen on St John's Gospel*,[4] in two handy and admirably-printed volumes. The text is carefully

[1] The Newer Light of a Recent Book. Glasgow: Maclehose & Son. 8vo, pp. 52. Price, 6d.

[2] By Hector C. Macpherson. Small post 8vo, pp. 151. Price, 1s. 6d.

[3] With a Preface by Eugene Stock. London: Elliot Stock. Small 8vo, pp. 268. Price, 1s. 6d.

[4] Cambridge: University Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. 328, 345. Price, 15s. net.

revised, and a brief Introduction is given, in which all necessary information is furnished regarding the extant MSS. The relations of these MSS. are exhibited in a genealogical scheme, and it is shown that we are dependent upon one thirteenth century manuscript, the Codex Monacensis, for our knowledge of the text of the extant books. The materials left by Richard Bentley (in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge) have been examined, and a list is given of the emendations which he made in the copy of Huet's edition of the commentaries. For the text of the Fragments, the Catena, published by Corderius, and three MSS. (two of Rome and one of Venice) have been used. The Fragments from the Philocalia, however, have been rightly taken from Professor Robinson's recent edition. It is of interest to notice that Mr Brooke's experience in the preparation of this edition has shown him that the Catenae of the tenth and eleventh centuries are practically useless for textual purposes, that those later are wholly useless, and that a "systematic examination of early Catenae is much needed."

In *The Permanent Message of the Exodus*,[1] an able Scottish preacher gives a series of studies in the Life of Moses. It is to be regretted that in his Preface he takes up an unfortunate attitude to Criticism, and speaks as if the verdict of the Church must be pronounced against the view generally taken by Old Testament students of "how the Spiritual grew up in Israel, and especially of the manner in which the Old Testament Canon was gradually formed." He tells us that "the great mass of intelligent Christians in our country, as events seem urging them to a decision, are conscious of a growing revulsion from the whole hypothesis, springing out of considerations which are central to that belief in the unity of revelation, which faith cannot renounce." This, surely, is a mistaken and dangerous position to assume for oneself, or to present to a congregation. To demand that the conclusions of literary and historical investigation be carefully tested before they are recommended for acceptance, is one thing; to speak as if there were some necessary inconsistency between these conclusions and faith, or some call upon the Church to intervene, and give its verdict against them, is another thing, a very different and a very perilous thing. But apart from this, and when the author keeps within the large field which it is the preacher's function to occupy, the book is a strong and sensible one. It expounds the great passages in the career of Moses, as told in Exodus, in a clear, terse, and telling style, with not a little local and historical colouring, and with pointed applications to the moral, social, and religious conditions of our own time. It has a practical power and a

[1] By the Rev. John Smith, D.D., Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 306. Price, 3s. 6d.

vivacity which give a fresh interest and a present-day meaning to the familiar narratives of the Red Sea, Marah, Elim, Rephidim, and the rest. The volume is so tasteful in its form, too, that it is a pleasure to handle it.

The *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Græcorum et Romanorum*, published by the house of Teubner in Leipsic, proceeds with commendable expedition. We have several new issues of this excellent and most useful series to hand, carefully edited and furnished with Prefaces. These include *Callinici De Vita S. Hypatii Liber*[1]; *Benedicti Regula Monachorum*[2]; *Anonymi Christiani Hermippus de Astrologia Dialogus*[3]; and *Marci Diaconi Vita Porphyrii Episcopi Gazensis.*[4]

The tenth section of the *Sammlung ausgewählter Kirchen-und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften* consists of the famous *Commonitorium.*[5] It is admirably edited by Professor Jülicher of Marburg, who also furnishes an Introduction, giving a brief critical account of Vincent and the principles which make the basis of the treatise. It is altogether a helpful, handy, and scholarly edition. In the eleventh part of the same series Lic. Carl Albrecht Bernoulli furnishes an equally useful and careful edition of Hieronymus and Gennadius *De Viris Illustribus*,[6] with a very full Introduction and Apparatus Criticus.

We have received the first part of a series of *Archäologische Studien*, to be issued under the editorship of Professor Johannes Ficker of Strassburg. This *Heft* gives an instructive account and careful interpretation of one of the most attractive pictorial finds in the Roman catacombs, one which has a place of peculiar interest in archæological science and in the history of early Christian art.[7]

Under the title of *Sowing to the Spirit*[8] we have a series of brief, simple, well written discourses on such topics as *prayer*, *temptation*, *sin*, *grace*, *service*, etc.

[1] Ediderunt Seminarii Philologorum Bonnensis Sodales. Cr. 8vo. pp. xx. 188. Price, M.3.

[2] Recensuit Eduardus Woelfflin. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. 85. Price, M.1.60.

[3] Ediderunt-Guilelmus Kroll et Paulus Viereck. 8vo, pp. xi. 87. Price, M.1.80.

[4] Pp. xii. 136. Price, M.2.40.

[5] Vincenz von Lerinum Commonitorium pro Catholicæ fidei antiquitate et universalitate, adversus profanas omnium haereticorum novitates. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiii. 78. Price, M.1.50.

[6] Pp. lvi. 98. Price, M.2.80.

[7] Ein Familienbild aus der Priscillakatakombe mit der ältesten Hochzeitsdarstellung der christlichen Kunst. Von Otto Mitius. Mit. 3 Abbildungen. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. 28. Price, M.1.

[8] By A. B. T. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp, 196.

Dr James Dodds contributes an *Exposition of the Apostles' Creed*[1] to the *Guild Text-Book* Series. No attempt is made to give the history of the Creed, which has been judged too intricate a subject for a book of the kind. A short statement of the broader facts, however, would have been useful. On the other hand, the doctrinal meaning of each of the clauses of the Creed is explained in a suitable and sufficient way, with the necessary references to the Scripture passages on which it is based. All is done succinctly, clearly, and interestingly.

The Rev. John Harries has prepared a useful *Handbook of Theology*.[2] It is intended to be a Homiletical Manual, and gives lists of Questions for Examination. It goes over the main topics briefly, intelligently, and without any undue bias. It is written in a plain and popular style, which will make it useful to others than professional readers. But it will also be consulted with advantage by students and preachers. The author has read diligently, and is able to brighten and confirm his statements of doctrine by brief, pertinent passages from the writings of distinguished theologians of different schools.

The sixth volume of *The Preacher's Magazine*[3] is also to hand. This magazine, which is admirably edited by the Revs. Mark Guy Pearse and Arthur E. Gregory, is meant for preachers, teachers, and Bible students, and is well suited to their need. Among those contributing to it are Professors Beet, Davison, Findlay, Geden, Waddy Moss, Randles, Slater, Tasker, Dr Benjamin Gregory, Messrs Moulton, J. Robinson Gregory, T. G. Selby, and others. In addition to a great variety of articles, it gives brief but careful reviews of books.

In his *Home-Making*,[4] Dr J. R. Miller gives us another of his pleasant practical books, one which deals with the opportunities and responsibilities of each of the members in the family in a simple, easy, edifying style.

Record of Select Literature.

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[1] London: A. & C. Black. Pp. 110. Price, 6d. net.

[2] London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 166. Price, 3s. 6d.

[3] London: C. H. Kelly. 8vo, pp. 580. Price, 5s.

[4] *Home-Making; or, The Ideal Family Life.* London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 291. Price, 3s. 6d.

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The International Critical Commentary.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St Mark. By the Rev. Ezra P. Gould, LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896. *Post* 8*vo, pp. xv.* 583. *Price,* 10*s.* 6*d.*

COMMENTARIES on the second Gospel are comparatively few, and therefore an addition to their number cannot be deemed a superfluity. On this account, as well as in view of its own merits, this work by Professor Gould, of the Divinity School, Philadelphia, will doubtless receive a hearty welcome. The aim of the writer, in harmony with that of the series to which it belongs, is to supply a commentary "based on the more recent criticism of the sources, and of the history contained in the book." He aspires to produce in English a work which may be associated with the contributions of Meyer, Weiss, and Holtzmann, if not in ability, at least in critical method and results. He accepts the prevailing view as to the relations of the three Synoptical Gospels, regarding Mark as the source of the narrative part of Matthew and Luke, their reproduction of the triple tradition being supplemented and modified by material taken from the book of Logia, written, according to Papias, by the apostle Matthew. In the execution of his plan he takes advantage of opportunities for verifying this critical hypothesis, indicating as they occur harmonies and divergences, and the marks of interdependence.

A commentary constructed on this method might very easily be overweighted with matter of merely critical interest, which is not what the bulk of readers are in quest of. The author has not erred in this direction. The contribution which he makes to what may be called *comparative* or *synoptical* exegesis is slight and elementary compared with the monumental work of Dr Bernhard Weiss on the Gospel of Mark and its Synoptical Parallels, which, though published in 1872, has not yet been translated into English, and probably never will, just because of the thoroughness of its attempt to establish exegetically the author's view of the Synoptical problem. Possibly Professor Gould might have done a little more in this line without diminishing the practical value, or disturbing the proportions of his work.

The Introduction proper consists of only nine pages, containing chiefly a statement of the critical question respecting the relations of the synoptists, and an analysis of the story told by Mark concerning the public ministry of our Lord. In four subsequent chapters of introductory matter are discussed in succession *The*

Person and Principles of Jesus in Mark's Gospel, The Gospels in the Second Century, Recent Critical Literature, and *the Greek Text.* The whole is good reading, but we miss something. There is no adequate attempt to characterise Mark's presentation of the image of Jesus in contrast to that of the companion Evangelists. The author refers, in a passing sentence, to the vividness of Mark's style, and the descriptive touches which frequently occur in his pages. But the *realism* of Mark's Gospel is not remarked on: The blunt down-right way in which we are allowed to see Jesus as He actually was, spoke, and acted, in contrast, *e.g.*, with the idealising manner of Luke, where Jesus is seen, as it were, with an aureole round His head. This feature in Mark, manifest at many points, speaks not only to narratives based on the oral statements of an eye witness, like Peter, but to a comparatively early date of composition. Luke writes at a time when reverence for the Lord in glory controls the Evangelic historian. Mark writes at a time when this influence was kept in check by vivid recent memories. The realism of Mark stamps his Gospel as comparatively *archaic.*

As the heading "Recent Critical Literature" would lead us to expect, the author has noticed in his Introduction only a few of the more outstanding works produced within the last quarter of a century. The list includes Meyer, Weiss, Beyschlag, Holtzmann, and Morison. Throughout the Commentary these are the names chiefly referred to. The neglect of the older literature is justified by the remark that those selected as guides are so trustworthy in exegesis as well as in criticism, that their contributions "give a largely antiquarian or historical interest to the preceding literature" (p. xliv.). To a certain extent this is true, and one can thoroughly sympathise with the modern commentator who wants to rid himself of the intolerable burden of nineteen centuries of exegesis. If one were to take full account of all that has been written on any one book of the New Testament, it would issue in a work as large as the whole Series to which this volume belongs. But Professor Gould's book is of very moderate dimensions—the Commentary covers only some 300 pages—and he might with advantage have gleaned some happy comments from older authors not yet altogether out of date. Many good things were written before the era of criticism dawned. I have myself found great delight and profit in the Commentary on the Gospels by Euthymius Zigabenus, a Greek monk of the twelfth century. In his preface to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews in the *Handcommentar* Von Soden claims the right to act on the principle: "Let the dead bury their dead," and declares that it is high time to break with the opinion that a useful commentary must be a collection of mummies. Our author is evidently of the same mind, and every exegete who is

not Rabbinical in spirit must largely sympathise. Yet, on the other hand, who does not feel a desire to know the history of opinion in some tolerable degree; and who would not wish to enrich his pages with well selected sentences from writers of insight in all ages, and to compensate for the poverty of individual thought by golden words borrowed from Chrysostom or Euthymius, or Calvin, or Bengel? Such words should be well chosen, and references to mere names by the dozen are, of course, to be avoided; but judicious citation of important views by authors of weight is profitable for all. Then the philological commentators such as Kypke, Pricaeus, Raphel, Wetstein, Fritzsche, who discuss the meanings of words and phrases, are by no means to be despised. Modern scholars do not despise them, but still cite them as may be seen in the eighth edition of Meyer on the Gospels by Weiss.

Professor Gould has certainly named and used, and used with judgment, the most outstanding of *recent* contributors to the exposition of Mark. But when the available literature was so scanty it might have been well to make the list as far as possible complete. One important book he has, I think, altogether omitted, the Commentary on Mark by Dr Paul Schanz, Professor of Catholic Theology in the University of Tübingen, published in 1881. Schanz does not accept current critical views on the Synoptical Problem, but he is a thoroughly competent exegete specially valuable, as might be expected, in reference to Patristic opinion, but generally excellent and up to date as an expositor both of thoughts and words. He has also published companion works on Matthew (1879) and Luke (1883). Besides this important work by Schanz there is that of Klostermann: *Das Markusevangelium nach seinem Quellenwerthe für die Evangelische Geschichte* (1867), of special importance in its bearing on the critical problem.

But the main question, after all, in a work of this kind is, What is the value of the author's own contribution? Taking all things into consideration my estimate is high. In Greek scholarship it is careful and accurate. The criticism of the text, while avowedly slight, is sufficient. There is ample evidence of insight into the thoughts and spirit of Jesus, an indispensable requirement for exegetical work of real permanent value. The style is good, the page clean and clear, and the whole book from beginning to end is interesting and readable. In his theological attitude the author is distinctly modern, as is shown by his handling of such topics as the Temptation in the wilderness, demoniacal possession, and the healing ministry of our Lord in general. In church connection, as I understand, Episcopal, he is anti-Sacramentarian, as is sufficiently evident from what he says regarding the meaning of the words: "This is my body." "The literal meaning is impossible to Jesus.

It would pull down all that he had been at pains to set up throughout his ministry—a spiritual religion."

I have no doubt this commentary on Mark will be popular, and run through several editions. In view of this probability it would be well if the author were, in a leisurely way, to prepare for its enlargement and extension by fuller treatment at many points. To illustrate what I mean I may refer to what is said on the expression ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιε (xiv. 72). The translation given is, "having thought on it, he began to weep," and the comment, "This meaning of the participle is clearly established now, and it is clearly the best rendering, if allowable." Then in a footnote it is added: "See Morison for best statement of different views." This is unsatisfactory. Why not give the leading views in this new commentary, instead of referring to an old one of which the writer's estimate is in some respects far from high? The main alternative senses could have been given in a few sentences; and certainly the one supported by Theophylact and adopted by Dr Field in *Otium Norvicense* —"having covered his head"—ought to have been mentioned.

A. B. Bruce.

"St Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen."

By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8*vo, pp.* 410, *cloth, with map,* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Second Notice.

We were already indebted to Professor Ramsay for a whole store of information bearing upon St Paul's stay in the next great city which claims our attention—Ephesus. Although these two typical cities of heathendom, as Bishop Lightfoot calls them, Athens and Ephesus—the one, the heart and citadel of Greece, the other, the home of every oriental quackery and superstition—differed so widely, the *Acts* pourtrays to the life their religious and moral atmosphere no less than their local colouring. It is tempting to dwell upon the discoveries which have enabled us to realise so much more fully St Paul's residence and reception in Ephesus.[1] But in the book before us our attention is turned to the hard and fast line of demarcation which the author draws between *Acts* xix. 11-20 —the incident of the Jewish exorcists—and the rest of the chapter. In the former passage the writer seems to him more like a picker-

[1] The very cry, *e.g.*, of the mob, "Great Artemis!" (as D reads) is reproduced on the inscriptions.

up of current gossip than a real historian, and if there were many such contrasts, Professor Ramsay would become a believer in the composite character of Acts (p. 273).

But whatever difficulties may surround this section of the chapter, in such a city it was inevitable that St Paul should be brought face to face, as at Paphos and Philippi, with prevailing superstitions and magical arts; and in Ephesus, as elsewhere, the power of the Gospel prevailed. The miracles of healing (ver. 12) were, at all events, of such a kind as to appeal to a superstitious people, who would naturally and eagerly seize upon the Apostle's handkerchiefs and aprons as soon as the report of his healing powers were spread abroad. The fact that they are called miracles, *οὐ τὰς τυχούσας*, seems in itself to point to their employment as a special adaptation to a people who were wont to see in charms and amulets and mystic spells a marvellous healing power. But in this accommodation to special forms of ignorance and sin we are never allowed to forget that God was the real source of all power and might, and that the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. The well-known *Εφέσια γράμματα* probably included all kinds of magical formulæ to ward off or expel demons—formulæ often containing the names of the gods of the nations, but "jam cuncta illa nomina inania irritaque præ Jesu nomine putabantur" (Blass *in loc*). May we not, moreover, note in the whole recital its sobriety no less that its strangeness? It is surely a mark of truthfulness, as Dean Plumptre has reminded us, that the record should stop where it does. A forger, we may well believe, would have crowned the story by a picture of the man, after baffling the impostors, healed by the word or the touch of Paul.

But whatever may have been the feelings of hostility provoked against the Apostle by the tradesmen, who made their living from pilgrims to the great Ephesian temple—"for the most sensitive part of 'civilised' man is his pocket" (p. 277)—the friendly attitude of the Asiarchs and the Town-Clerk, or rather the Secretary of the State of Ephesus, affords a further proof of Luke's plan, viz., to show not only the groundlessness of the charges, but that the policy of the empire was not as yet opposed to the new religion (pp. 282 and 305).

Upon the details of Paul's stay in Jerusalem and Caesarea Professor Ramsay declines to enter, as he tells us that he is not at home on the soil of Palestine (p. 313). But the moment of the Apostle's arrest in Jerusalem must be regarded, if we would read *Acts* in the true historical light, as leading up to the great event of the whole work (p. 304). Throughout the history, from the time when the centurion Cornelius is introduced, this favourable disposition of the Romans to the Christian teachers can be traced,

and in the third Gospel there is the same care in bringing out the relations between Christianity and the Imperial Government (p. 304 *ff.*). In the last scenes of the *Acts* this recognition acquires a fuller and more definite meaning, and even Felix and Festus may be cited as evidence for it (p. 306).

Professor Ramsay maintains that Luke is amply justified in attaching such importance to the trial of Paul, and he adds a most significant proviso, that this importance is only intelligible if Paul was acquitted: "that Paul was acquitted follows from the pastoral Epistles with certainty for all who admit their genuineness; while even they who deny their Pauline origin must allow that they imply an early belief in historical details which are not consistent with Paul's journeys before his trial, and must either be pure inventions or events that occurred on later journeys"[1] (p. 308). But if an acquittal was recorded, then this first trial might be called a charter of religious liberty, a permission by the supreme court of the Empire to preach Christianity, although that permission was afterwards reversed (p. 308). But further, it is very difficult, if not impossible, in Professor Ramsay's opinion, to suppose that Luke would thus relate at length the preliminary stages of the trial, and yet wholly omit the final result, to which alone they owe their meaning and purpose. And so Professor Ramsay finds fresh evidence for the view first put forward on an earlier page (pp. 23, 27), that the historian intended to write three books, the Gospel, the Acts, and a sequel, which should contain the final stages of Paul's trial, his acquittal, and his use of the permission thus given him to preach, and to organise the Church, in new fields of labour, and, finally, his second trial, when Nero's rule was at its worst (p. 309).

And here no one will fail to notice another interesting suggestion in the view taken of the finances for the trial. If we ask from whence was the money procured, no light sum in an appeal to the Emperor, we cannot believe that Paul would have used the money collected from the poverty of the churches (p. 312), and there seems no alternative but to suppose that his own hereditary property was employed. If Paul hitherto voluntarily abstained from using his fortune, he now found himself justified in acting differently; if on the other hand, he had for the time been disowned by his family (see pp. 35, 36), then either a reconciliation had been brought about during his danger (perhaps originating in the bold kindness of his young nephew), or, through death, property had come to him as legal heir (p. 312). Certainly this picture of St Paul as a man of wealth seems at first sight at variance with what we gather of him from the New Testament. In his farewell

[1] We may compare the remarks of Blass, Prolegomena to *Acts*, pp. 23 and 24.

address to the Church of Ephesus, which carries us up to within a few years of his appeal, he was still apparently a poor man, as he speaks with touching pathos of the hands which had ministered unto his own necessities, and to the necessities of those that were with him. It is difficult to believe that St Paul would have voluntarily abstained from using his fortune (if he possessed one), when day by day there came upon him the care of all the Churches, and we think it far more probable that he was able to procure the help of wealthy friends. That Paul had made such friends is evident, and Professor Ramsay himself lays stress upon the social rank of the high-born ladies of Macedonia, who were impressed by the Apostle's teaching. Lydia, too, at Philippi, is not only ready with large-hearted hospitality, but her trade in itself demanded the possession of a considerable capital (p. 214). Is it fanciful to suppose that such women might have ministered to Paul of their substance, just as in St Luke's Gospel the women ministered to our Lord in His earthly life? St Paul himself gratefully acknowledges the personal help which he had received once and again from his converts at Philippi. Moreover, is it so certain that Professor Ramsay is right in alleging that a poor man would never have received such attention, or aroused such interest, as Paul secured before a Felix or an Agrippa? Has not St Luke told us in his Gospel of the Herod who desired to see the Son of Man, Who had not where to lay His head, and might not the same feeling which prompted Herod, the feeling of curiosity, the hope of seeing some new thing, have prompted the desire to see Paul and to test his wonderful powers?

But St Paul had made his appeal to Cæsar; and nothing is more satisfactory in the book before us than the way in which Professor Ramsay endorses the value of the contribution to the accuracy of St Luke in the monograph of James Smith of Jordanhill on the voyage and shipwreck of St Paul, a book of which the late Dr Whewell remarked that it ought to be in the hands of every student. "One of the completest services," writes Professor Ramsay (p. 341), "that has ever been rendered to New Testament scholarship is James Smith's proof that all the circumstances narrated in *Acts* xxvii. 39 ff. are united in St Paul's Bay."

But of equal value with the recognition of the truthfulness of the narrative, is the recognition of the consistency of the character of St Paul (p. 336 ff.). Holtzmann's attempt to excise xxvii. v. 21-26 is justly condemned, and the only reason discoverable for the rejection of the passage is, as Professor Ramsay plainly says, that it introduces a superhuman element. But, as he takes care to tell us elsewhere, the superhuman element is essentially involved in this book of *Acts*, and it cannot be cut out by any

fairly conducted critical process (p. 339). No one has recognised more candidly than Carl Weizsäcker the historical character of St Paul's voyage and shipwreck, its manifest freedom from interpolations, and its consistent representation of the Apostle's bearing —the history is, for him, "a pearl of priceless value."

St Paul in Rome is a tempting subject, and Professor Ramsay does not disappoint us. The Apostle's confinement in the imperial city was evidently marked by the utmost leniency, and *Acts* concludes with a distinct indication of easier and more hopeful circumstances (p. 349). The tone which marks the Epistles, *Colossians*, *Ephesians*, *Philemon*, is an evidence of this. But here again Professor Ramsay is at issue with Bishop Lightfoot as to the date of *Philippians*, which he places *after* the other letters of the first captivity (p. 357 ff.). The critical question is a very difficult one, and great names may be quoted on either side, Dr Hort, amongst more recent critics, endorsing the view of Bishop Lightfoot, and Professor Godet maintaining the later date of the Epistle in question (*Introduction au Nouveau Testament*, I. 609, 610, 1893). Professor Ramsay points out that Lightfoot and others are undoubtedly right in assigning to *Colossians* and *Ephesians* a more advanced stage in the development of the church, but he objects to the inference that therefore *Philippians* was written earlier (p. 359): "*Philippians*," he writes, "occupies the same place in the first as 2 *Timothy* in the second trial" (p. 360), a very suggestive remark, when we recall the familiar passage in the latter epistle, in which we may possibly read a retrospective reference to words and expressions in the Philippian letter (Bishop of Derry in *Speaker's Commentary on the New Testament*, iii. 588).

In this second Epistle to Timothy we have the testament of a dying man (p. 361). The circumstances are changed, and the Apostle's confinement much more rigorous than at his first trial. But this second trial, like the first, evidently had its delays. After his first examination (the πρώτη ἀπολογία, 2 Tim. iv. 16), the Apostle could still write for his friends to come to him, and Professor Ramsay inclines to the conjecture of Conybeare and Howson, that this first charge was one of complicity and sympathy with the incendiaries who had burnt Rome in 64, and that that charge was triumphantly disproved (p. 361). But the second and fatal charge, heard later, was doubtless "that of treason, shown by hostility to the established customs of society, and by weakening the Imperial authority." Paul, however, was not now condemned, any more than at his first trial, for preaching the new religion—that in itself was no crime, the charter of freedom (p. 282) was not yet abrogated, and legal offences had still to be proved against Christians, they were not punished because they were Christians (p. 362).

All this is of course in accordance with the position taken up in the *Church in the Roman Empire*, and we know how strongly Professor Ramsay maintains that with the Flavian dynasty there came a change of policy—Christians were condemned as such. It was a protest against this policy, and a contrast between it and the former attitude of the Roman authorities which Luke designed to enforce, and which formed a very important, if not the chief, part of his plan in writing *Acts* (pp. 309, 362, 386).

But when Professor Ramsay goes a step further still, and asks us to believe that the book as it stands is incomplete, and that the author evidently designed a third treatise, we may hesitate to follow him. Bishop Lightfoot's remarks in his valuable article on *Acts*, contained in the new edition of Dr Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, are well worth recalling in this connection, as they not only give his final opinion on the book in question, but also his answer to the position maintained by Professor Ramsay: "The writer was clearly not interrupted so as to leave his work finished . . . nor did he contemplate a "third treatise" as some have imagined. There is indeed no conceivable plea for any third treatise if our view of his main design is correct."[1] Again, whilst no one has done more than Professor Ramsay to refute the idea that *Acts* could have been written so late as Trajan, the date at which he places the book is open to serious criticism, viz., in the year immediately following the reign of Titus as sole emperor, 79-81, (p. 387) *i.e.* in the early years of Domitian: "There runs through the entire work a purpose which could hardly have been conceived before the state had begun to persecute on political grounds." (P. 388). But where is the evidence for this statement? and *when* did the State begin to persecute on political grounds? "The Flavian policy had declared Christianity illegal and proscribed the Name," writes Professor Ramsay (p. 388.) But the first of the three Flavian emperors was Vespasian, and there is no positive evidence (as Professor Ramsay himself apparently admits in the *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 256) to constitute him the originator of a definite State policy against the Christians. Whatever evidence there is, points presumably, not to Vespasian, but to Nero.[2] May we not be pardoned for thinking that Professor Ramsay reads the *Acts*

[1] What that view is we have already stated, and the article to which reference is made finally endorses it: "The author closes with the event which his aim required. The occupation of Rome the capital of the world was the one eventful crisis which closed an epoch," p. 27. "At hic liber non est imperfectus, cum longi cursus evangelii Roma terminus sit." Blass, *Prolegomena*, p. 3.

[2] Comp. Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, p. 80 (1894). See also Professor Mommsen's Letter to the Editor in the *Expositor*, July 1893.

(just as he reads 1 Peter), in the light of the position which he had taken up in his former book (*The Church in the Roman Empire*) as to the relations between the State and Christianity? But before we finally accept that position as bearing upon *Acts*, we must be more convinced that the leading purpose of St Luke is thereby made any clearer. St Luke wrote to mark "the essential stages in the evangelisation of the world" *i.e.* the Roman world (as Professor Ramsay again reminds us), and not to draw up, or issue, a religious-political manifesto.[1]

There are, moreover, some indications that recent critics are not all averse to assigning a much earlier date to the third Gospel and the *Acts*. Dr Blass, *e.g.*, who, equally with Professor Ramsay, may claim to approach the subject with an unrivalled classical knowledge, and with freedom from theological bias, is prepared to date St Luke's gospel and the *Acts* before the fall of Jerusalem [2]—a position which he will no doubt maintain in spite of the somewhat satirical condemnation of Holtzmann,[3] and Professor Hahn of Breslau in his elaborate commentary on St Luke's Gospel (1894), carries back its date to the sixties.[4] The story told of the famous Dr Routh by Dean Burgon in his *Lives of Twelve Good Men* may not be out of place in this connection. Dr Routh had not the least doubt that *Acts* was the work of St Luke: "For you may have observed," he would say, "that the sacred writer ends by saying that Paul dwelt at Rome two years in his own hired house." "Now sir," (here he tapped my fingers in the way customary with him when he desired to enforce attention) "no one but a contemporary would have ended his narrative in *that* way." "We should have had all about St Paul's martyrdom" (he looked archly at me, and slightly waved his hand—as much as to say, And we all know what sort of thing *that* would have been) "all about his martyrdom, sir, if this narrative had been subsequent in date to St Paul's death." That story (which affords a parallel to the remarks of Dr Salmon, *Introd.* p. 311, 312, 5th edn.) contains a very useful moral, although we may not be able to accept the date which it advocates. It may be of some help to us

[1] Professor Ramsay argues that *Acts* must have been written to a Roman official of high rank, and that the name Theophilus must be a name given to him at baptism, and used or known only among the Christians, and he further maintains that this baptismal name is used in *Acts*, because it was dangerous for a Roman of rank to be recognised as a Christian (p. 388, 389). But it must not be forgotten that Theophilus was by no means uncommon as a Jewish name. Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, i., p. 25, new edition, and see also article "Theophilus."

[2] Prolegomena to *Acts*, p. 5, 1895.

[3] *Theologische Literarturzeitung* Nr., 3, 1896.

[4] Hahn, however, attributes the third gospel to Silas.

in considering a still more serious question, viz., the way in which Professor Ramsay regards *Acts* i.-v. If it has been truly said that there is no more striking apology for the canonical gospels than the apocryphal, may we not say the same thing of the contrast which exists between the canonical and apocryphal *Acts*?[1]

But the author of the former, we are assured, had means of knowing the later events with perfect accuracy, whilst the means which helped him there, failed in Chapter i.-v., and moral apologues and popular tales do the work of real history (p. 367).[2] But if Luke "everywhere follows with minutest care the best authority accessible to him" (p. 384) had he not accessible as sources for these early chapters, the testimony of John Mark (to say nothing of Philip the evangelist), to whom Professor Ramsay himself refers as the undoubted authority for the story of St Peter's imprisonment and escape, an episode which "bears all the marks of vivid personal witness" (p. 385)—John Mark "who is pointedly mentioned as being in Jerusalem (*Acts* xii. 25), and who was afterwards with Luke and Paul in Rome" (p. 385)? Had he not opportunities of learning the events of the Church's birth and infancy from James the Lord's brother, whom he met at Jerusalem (*Acts* xxi. 18), or from men like Silas, who is mentioned as one of the chief among the brethren in Jerusalem (*Acts* xv. 22), and who himself may well have been, from his manifest position of authority, one of the disciples of the Lord (see Dean Plumptre *in loco*); or from Mnason (*Acts* xxi. 16) his fellow-traveller, an early disciple (ἀρχαῖος), who had been, as the word implies, a disciple from the beginning of the Church's history? It is no unreasonable supposition that just as St Luke's gospel apparently begins with a distinct document, bearing many marks of an Hebraic origin, so the first five chapters of *Acts* may have been incorporated from some earlier document; but that this document was at all events of Jewish-Christian origin, and undoubtedly originated from an eye-witness of the events, is admitted by those who dispute as keenly as Professor Ramsay the historical character of the chapters in question.[3] But not only do these chapters come from an early and Hebraic source, but they carry upon the face of them undoubted evidence as to their historical value. Take, *e.g.* the attitude assigned to

[1] Compare the remarks of O. Zöckler, *Kurzgefasster Commentar*, ii. 145, and Dr Salmon's criticism on the *Apocryphal Acts*.

[2] Professor Ramsay would apparently not go so far as Jülicher and maintain that nowhere in the New Testament are purely legendary elements so powerfully apparent (*Einleitung in das N.T.*, p. 266) as in *Acts* ii.-xii., since he attaches so much weight to the testimony of John Mark, (p. 385). But even Jülicher is compelled to admit a genuine kernel of fact, (p. 270).

[3] B. Weiss, *Einleitung in das N.T.*, p. 574, 2nd edition.

the Sadducees as the chief opponents of the preachers of the new faith, as we might well expect, since the Resurrection was the cardinal point of the apostolic preaching; or the fact, which appears so strange at first sight, but which is in strict accordance with the testimony of Josephus, that the members of the hierarchy were in the main of the sect of the Sadducees; or the speeches of St Peter, so full of coincidences with the First Epistle which bears his name, so characteristic of a man fed upon the Old Testament Scriptures, and reading those Scriptures for the first time in the light of the Passion and the Resurrection.

In criticising the trustworthiness of this early part of *Acts*, Professor Ramsay gives several examples of "suspicious stories." He takes, as his first instance, the two accounts of the suicide of Judas, the one in *St Matt.* xxvii. 5-8, and the other in *Acts* i. 18, 19. Of the former, he says that there can be no hesitation in accepting the vivid and detailed description of the incident; in the latter, he can only see the growth of popular fancy and tradition. Now it is quite true that the two accounts give two reasons for the name *Field of Blood.* But why should there not be two reasons? If, as Dr Edersheim evidently holds, the traitor in the agony of his remorse rushed from the temple into the valley of Hinnom, and across the valley to "the potter's field" of Jeremiah, the old name of the potter's field might easily become changed in the popular language into that of "field of blood," whilst the reason given by St Matthew for the name might still hold good, since the blood-money which, by a fiction of law, was still considered to belong to Judas, was employed for the purchase of the accursed spot as a burial ground for strangers.[1] At all events, there is nothing disconcerting in the supposition that we may have here "some unknown series of facts, of which we have but two fragmentary narratives."[2] In our examination of these early chapters may we not bear in mind some words of Professor Ramsay himself in an earlier part of his work? (p. 93): "We are dealing with a first century, and not a nineteenth century historian . . . one who works for a public that was quite satisfied with a statement of facts without a study of causes. There is too much tendency to demand from the first century writers an answer to all the questions we should like to put."

It is undoubtedly open to Professor Ramsay to maintain that these incidents occur in what is necessarily "the weakest part of *Acts*" (p. 367). But we cannot forget that this

[1] Dr Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, II. 575, 576, and Dean Plumptre on St Matt. xxvii. 5-8 in Bishop Ellicott's *Commentary*, I. 171; see also Nösgen *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 85, 86.

[2] See article "Judas" in new edition of Smith's *Bible Dictionary*.

"weakest part" could never have been written, unless there had been before it and behind it the Life of the Strong Son of God, and that the opening verses of the first chapter bid us look back to the promise of the Father, which should clothe the witnesses of and to that Life with power from on high (*Acts* i. 4; *Luke* xxiv. 49). If that promise was fulfilled, we are face to face with the working of a divine energy and will, in other words, with the supernatural, and that supernatural element is bound up as inextricably with the earlier as (on Professor Ramsay's own showing) it is with the later part of *Acts*.

But if Professor Ramsay throws doubt upon (what we recognise as) historical records, we thankfully acknowledge that, in the first place, he does a service of inestimable value in helping to establish the truthfulness of St Luke as an historian, not only in the remaining portion of *Acts*, but in other cases also. Thus he has defended the accuracy of the Evangelist not only in his statement about Philip in Luke iii. 1, but in a much more important case, in the statement of the census under Quirinius in ii. 1 (p. 385) in connection with the Birth of our Lord. We are only inclined to ask him how, with all this high appreciation of St Luke's extreme accuracy and care, he accounts for the fact, that in the third gospel, much more frequently than in *Acts*, and no less frequently than in the Gospel of St Matthew, or of St Mark, there are strange and mysterious cases of those possessed with demons, cases in which there is ground for believing that Luke, as a cultured medical man, had been specially interested,[1] but in which he found himself confronted by a power which baffled human skill. Is it said that, in this matter, St Luke only conformed to the superstitions of his age? how then do we account for the overwhelming contrast which exists between the descriptions of the "demonised" and of their healing in the New Testament, and the notions and practices which meet us in the writings of the Jewish Rabbis?[2]

And, secondly, in the freshness and keenness with which he has treated of the journeys of St Paul, and of the scenes which he visited, in his picture not only of the historian, but also of the traveller, Professor Ramsay has made us realise the force of the answer made by B. Weiss to Holtzmann's charge that Christianity

[1] Hobart, *Medical Language of St Luke*, especially pp. 12-14, 17-20; and also *Our Lord's Miracles of Healing*, pp. 180, 188 (2nd edition, 1890), by Dr Belcher, a medical man of considerable distinction.

[2] See the valuable appendix on this subject, Edersheim, *ubi supra* ii. 770-726. This marked contrast between the New Testament and the prevailing ideas of the first century is also seen in the cures of the "demonised" attributed to Apollonius of Tyana at Ephesus and Athens. See Smith & Wace's *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, vol. i. 136.

had been "book-religion" from the beginning: "Christianity has from the beginning been life; and because that life pulsates in its primitive documents, these cannot be explained or understood on the hypothesis of literary dependences."

In the Paul of the *Acts*, and in the Paul of the Epistles, we have the character of a man who might well become a "hero" to his companions. We see in him a great creative genius, directing from the first the path which the Church had to tread (p. 139); we see in him the womanly tenderness, the delicate courtesy of the true Christian gentleman (pp. 149, 359); we see in him the extraordinary versatility, which could move in every society as to the manner born (pp. 238-246), and yet the true Christian spirit which could guide into the right channel all men's aspirations after culture and progress, raising them into a finer sphere of thought and action, because its possessor had learnt to appropriate from the surrounding world everything that was worthy in it (*Phil.* iv. 8) (p. 149). It was "the heart of the world," and it was the heart of a man—*εἰ καὶ Παῦλος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος ἦν.*

R. J. KNOWLING.

Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form, die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie erschlossen und nachgewiesen in Bibel, Keilinschriften und Koran, und in ihren Wirkungen erkannt in den Chören der griechischen Tragödie.

Von Dr. Dav. Heinr. Müller, Ord. Öff. Professor an der K. .K Universität Wien. Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1896; *London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. I. Band, Prolegomena und Epilegomena, pp.* 256; *II. Band, Hebräische und arabische Texte, pp.* 136. *Price, M.*16.

BOTH the importance of the subject and the vast learning of the author entitle this work to very serious consideration. The manifold difficulties and uncertainties which confront us in the prophetical books of the Old Testament, render it all the more necessary to examine, as closely as possible, the literary methods of the writers, that is to say, their various modes of expressing and grouping ideas. It is manifest, at a glance, that in many respects the literary methods of the Hebrews differed widely from those of ancient Greece and modern Europe, while, as we might have expected, they often bear a great resemblance to those of the other Semitic peoples, in particular the Arabs. Hence the

comparative study of the Semitic literatures is no less indispensable to the interpreter of the Bible than the comparative study of the Semitic languages, and since this is very frequently ignored, Prof. Müller deserves our gratitude for having once more called attention to the subject.

The special theory here propounded is of a somewhat startling character, as the author himself remarks more than once. He professes to unveil truths which have remained hidden for thousands of years (p. 252). "The sacred poems which have always had so strange a fascination, no less difficult to explain and analyse than the scent of the rose, now acquire form and shape, and reveal to us the mysterious sources of their power" (p. 190). The discovery by means of which Prof. Müller believes himself to have achieved these wonderful results may be briefly summed up as follows. It has long ago been noticed that the discourses of the Hebrew prophets often fall into sections more or less similar in general construction, but it was reserved for Prof. Müller to perceive that the essence of the prophetic style consists in the studied repetition of the same words, phrases or ideas in the corresponding parts of two or more sections. To this method of repetition he gives the name of "responsion." Together with "responsion," the Prophets frequently employ "concatenatio" (*i.e.*, the repetition of the concluding words of one section at the beginning of the next); and "inclusio" (*i.e.*, the use of the same words at the beginning and end of the same section). Prof. Müller traces the development of this system among the Prophets, from Amos down to the time of the Exile; moreover, he endeavours to prove that the same system appears in the other Semitic literatures, in the religious writings of Babylonia and in the Koran. "Responsion" is, in fact, a peculiarity of the Semites, dating from primitive times — "eine ursemitische Eigenart." Neither in Sanscrit nor in Iranian literature do we see any trace of such a thing (p. 243); since however it is found in the choruses of the Greek dramatists, Prof. Müller concludes that the Greeks borrowed the practice from the Phœnicians. He also holds that the writings of the Hebrew prophets were, like the Greek choruses, intended for public recitation by bands of singers. Thus Amos, when he appeared at Bethel, was accompanied by a number of his disciples, acting as choristers under his personal supervision (p. 248). The prophet began by reciting chap. i. 2 of his book, and thereupon the choir sang three pieces, each composed of a strophe and an antistrophe (chap. i. 3—ii. 3). Other parts of the book of Amos are analysed by Prof. Müller in a similar fashion.

It is obviously unsafe to pronounce a definite opinion as to the merit of these theories until we have subjected them to a very

close scrutiny. That the phenomenon which Prof. Müller calls "responsion" is found in the Semitic literatures cannot, of course, be doubted; the important question is whether it constitutes a regular system, in other words, whether we are here dealing with a specific literary form, or merely with a rhetorical habit which appears, more or less frequently, in all the literatures of the world. In order to answer this question satisfactorily, we must ascertain what is the *proportion* of cases in which the supposed rules are observed, and also how far Prof. Müller is right in believing "responsion" to be a peculiarity of the Semites. The investigation, it will be seen at once, demands much time and labour, so that it cannot even be attempted within the short compass of a review. It may, however, be permissible to offer a few remarks for the purpose of pointing out certain difficulties.

As to the proportion of cases in which "responsion" occurs, it must be admitted that the examples cited by Prof. Müller himself are by no means uniformly favourable to his theory. Where no "verbal correspondence" (*Wortresponsion*) can be detected, he satisfies himself with a "correspondence of ideas" (*Gedankenresponsion*), which is sometimes of a very doubtful kind, or even with a mere "resemblance of sound" (*Assonanz*). Moreover, there are cases in which "responsion" is absent altogether, *e.g.*, Is. i. 28-31, a passage which Prof. Müller supposes the prophet himself to have added at a later time, "somewhat pointlessly and without any proper connection" (p. 77). If this be so, it follows that Isaiah at least did not consider "responsion" as essential to the prophetic style. But what excites most suspicion is that part of Prof. Müller's work which deals with Arabic literature. Since his profound knowledge of this subject cannot be questioned, it would be rash to pronounce his conclusions impossible, but they are, to say the least, such as few other scholars would accept. He tells us in the Preface that he has borrowed his examples from the Koran rather than from the Arabic poets, because Arabic poetry, in his opinion, was developed "under Greek influence." How does this agree with the known facts? Of the pre-Islamic poets the majority belonged to the nomadic tribes who dwelt in the interior of Arabia; as Prof. Nöldeke has observed (*Die semitischen Sprachen*, 1887, p. 46), the Arabs of the North West, who were subjects of the Byzantine Empire, played no part in the history of Arabic poetry. Even in the North West, the only district in which the Arabs came into close contact with Greeks, a knowledge of Greek *poetry* can scarcely have been common, if we may judge by the analogy of the Syrian Christians, who took a great interest in Greek theology and philosophy, but seldom show any acquaintance with the Greek poets. Prof. Müller suggests that the art of

"strophic composition," as distinguished from metrical poetry, was practised in pre-Islamic times by the Arabian soothsayers, one of whom communicated "the secret" to Mohammed: hence the Mohammedan tradition fails to explain the "strophic arrangement" of the Koran (p. 60). But if "strophic composition" was habitually practised by the soothsayers, it is not easy to see how it can have escaped the notice of the early Mohammedans, who had precisely the same opportunities of learning about it as Mohammed himself.

Nor is it of less importance to inquire whether we have a right to deny, with Prof. Müller, the existence of "responsion" in Indian and Iranian literature. On this subject the testimony of a specialist would be welcome. But, whatever may be the case as regards India and Iran, I venture to think that in modern European literature we find examples of "Strophenbau mit Responsion" at least as perfect as any that Prof. Müller has cited. If we open Heine's works, for instance, we light upon a poem which, on account of its shortness, may here be quoted entire. It will be observed that the first, third, and fourth lines of each stanza exhibit *Wortresponsion* of the most striking kind, while in the second line of each there lurks a subtle *Gedankenresponsion* :—

Den König Wismamitra,
Den treibt's ohne Rast und Ruh,
Er will durch Kampf und Büssung
Erwerben Wasischta's Kuh.

O, König Wismamitra,
O, welch ein Ochs bist du,
Dass du so viel kämpfest und büssest,
Und Alles für eine Kuh !

A. A. Bevan.

Studien zur Textkritik der Vulgata.

Von Ernst von Dobschütz. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894; *London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.* 8*vo, pp. xi.* 139. *Price, M.*6.

Herr von Dobschütz introduces his "Studien zur Textkritik der Vulgata" with a full description of a handsome Vulgate MS., formerly at Ingolstadt, now in the University Library at Munich, which has been hitherto imperfectly known and described, and, alas, imperfectly collated.

Tischendorf collated it, rather hastily as it seems, and inserted

some of its readings in the eighth edition of his Greek Testament (under the sign *ing*); and his collation was bought by the Clarendon Press, and used by the Bishop of Salisbury and myself for the Oxford edition of the Vulgate. Tischendorf's own mistakes, and the difficulty we sometimes found in deciphering his handwriting, have combined with our own oversights in producing the rather formidable list of errata of which Herr von Dobschütz convicts us on pages 4-6 and 19-20; by far the greater number of mistakes quoted in the latter pages are due to the insufficiency of Tischendorf's own work, and must have been made by any one who used his collation. Yet Tischendorf was, as a rule, a remarkably accurate collator; his edition of the Codex Amiatinus contains very few slips; and in this particular collation the explanation of his haste and comparative inaccuracy is probably to be found in the fact that the work was quite subsidiary to his main task. For our own mistakes all that we can do is to acknowledge them, and to promise that we will do our best to make our list of *corrigenda et addenda* as complete as we can. On p. 20 von Dobschütz expresses the very reasonable hope that the other collations in our Edition are more accurate; in this connection I may perhaps be allowed to refer to a note of M. Samuel Berger's in a review of the Vulgate St Mark (*Bulletin Critique*, 1891, No. 16, p. 302); M. Berger compared our collation of the Manuscript G (g_1 of St Matthew) with his own notes, and only discovered four small errors in the whole of St Mark's Gospel.

Herr von Dobschütz, however, makes the Ingolstadt MS. (I) the basis of a really elaborate and thorough attempt at classifying the Vulgate MSS. He examines first the *Capitula* to the Gospels, then the *Praefationes* or *Argumenta*, and lastly a selected portion of the text—the 23rd chapter of St Matthew. His three lines of investigation seem all to point him to the same conclusion, that in the famous Codex Amiatinus we possess the best extant representative of the Vulgate text.

Most Vulgate MSS. possess tables of *Capitula*, or headings to the various chapters in each book, placed not at the head of the chapters as in an English Bible, but all together at the beginning of the book. The Capitula admit of being grouped, and we have printed six columns of them in Sts Matthew, Luke, and John, and five in St Mark. Von Dobschütz examines them with a great deal of patience and acuteness; most of them he would trace back to a common source anterior to the Vulgate recension; but the Codex Amiatinus and a small group of other MSS. possess a much more elaborate system of capitulation, and where they use New Testament phrases the language is nearer to the Vulgate than in the other groups; they are, that is, *Vulgate* rather than *Old*

Latin Capitula. Next are considered the *Praefationes* or *Argumenta* to the Gospels; these extraordinary compositions have long been a source of despair to the student; the Latin at times is almost untranslateable, and they are apparently full of mystical references, the key to which has been lost; Sedulius Scotus, who wrote an "expositiuncula" upon them in the time of Charles the Great, seems often to be in as much doubt as to their meaning as the most modern scholar can be. They are at any rate anterior to Jerome, and in the preface to St John confusion is worse confounded by the attempts of later scribes to alter the text to suit the Vulgate order of the Gospels; this preface is remarkable, too, for containing the earliest assertion that I know, that St John wrote his Gospel *after* he had written the Apocalypse; von Dobschütz (p. 90) indeed thinks the author is here simply reproducing the usual Catholic tradition on the subject, such as is given in Irenaeus III. 1. 1; V. 30. 3; but the latter passage implies, though it does not directly state, that the Apocalypse was written quite at the end of St John's life ("Neque enim ante multum temporis uisum est, sed paene sub nostro saeculo, ad finem Domitiani imperii"). The examination of these prefaces is marked by the same care and acuteness as the examination of the Capitula, the author differing from our own position mainly in the higher value he assigns to the Amiatine MS.

Finally we have an examination of the text of the 23rd chapter of St Matthew; von Dobschütz sums up again very strongly in favour of the same manuscript, and he has the valuable support here of Prof. J. H. Bernard, of Dublin (*Hermathena*, Vol. IX., No. XXI., 1895, p. 181), who says of its text in St John, "The excellence of the famous Codex Amiatinus is as clearly brought out here as it was in the preceding Gospels." Next to the Amiatinus, von Dobschütz lays great stress on the value of the Rushworth Gospels as a representative of the Irish family of Vulgate MSS.; it is indeed a valuable and interesting MS., and one of the very few that shew traces of independent correction from the Greek, *e.g.*, it alone reads *per esaiam profetam* in Mt. xiii. 35, with ℵ* 1, 13, 33, 124, 253, 346, 556. Of course an examination of one chapter in one Gospel cannot be expected to conduct us to final results in a problem which is seen to be more difficult and complicated with every page that is studied; but the author's work is an honest and vigorous attempt to grapple with a very difficult question; and though he differs from us often enough, we should be ungrateful if we did not acknowledge our obligation to him for making it.

I have only very few more misprints to add to his list of errata, p. 50, note, l. 2, iii. should be iiii.; p. 53, l. 4, lxvi. should surely be

xlvi.; and in the note to the same page, l. 4, xlviii. should be xlviiii.; p. 67, note, "p. 16, z. 2 bei *est*" should be "p. 16, z. 12 bei *est*." H. J. WHITE.

Un ancien text Latin des Actes des Apôtres retrouvé dans un manuscrit de Perpignan.

Par Samuel Berger [*tiré des Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat. et autres Bibliothèques; tome xxxv.*, 1re *Partié*]. *Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck*, 1895. *Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.*

THE critical importance of the "Western Text" in the Acts of the Apostles has had a new light thrown upon it since the publication of Prof. Blass' *Acta Apostolorum* (Göttingen, 1895). Scholars have often remarked the extraordinary interpolations, as they were considered, in the text of the Codex Bezae in this book. Blass boldly raised the question whether they were interpolations at all, and did not rather belong to an earlier, not a later form of the work—an edition compiled, perhaps, somewhat hastily by St Luke, and intended for the private instruction of Theophilus; the text more familiar to us being, he thought, a revised edition prepared for the general use of the Church, and with many of the local and personal details omitted.

Whatever opinion we may ultimately come to on this theory, and it is certainly an attractive one, it is obvious that we first require to have the Western text before us in as complete and pure a form as possible. Blass himself does not consider the Codex Bezae (D and d) to be a pure specimen of it, and imagines that in the African version—the Fleury palimpsest (h), the quotations in Cyprian and certain treatises of Augustine—the best form of the text is to be found.

M. Samuel Berger has already laid students under a deep obligation by his accurate and scholarly edition of the Fleury palimpsest (Paris: Fischbacher, 1889); and he has now rendered them an additional service by his discovery and publication of another important specimen of the Western text. It is needless to say that the present publication is marked by the highest accuracy (I have not yet discovered a single misprint in the text), and is accompanied by an introduction which is adequate and graceful; those who know M. Berger's other published works are prepared for this. The *Old Latin* MSS. of the Acts are few and far between; yet additions to their number may be made to an almost indefinite extent by a careful examination of the *Vulgate*

MSS.; the Vulgate MSS. are frequently marked by a very strong admixture of Old Latin elements, and in the MS. before us, the early chapters as far as xii. 7, and the latter verses of the last chapter (xxviii. 16 *ad fin.*), are Old Latin; the rest of the Acts, though written in the same hand and preserving the same peculiarities of spelling, etc., is Vulgate.

The MS. is numbered 321 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, is of the 13th century, and contains the whole of the New Testament according to Jerome's revision, though in the Acts, and to a less degree in the Epistles, these interesting Old Latin readings are preserved. The strange orthography, and a calendar with the names of local saints at the end of the book, suggest the South of France as the place of its origin, and an inscription on the first leaf definitely assigns it to Perpignan. M. Berger regards the text of the Old Latin portions as mixed, yet as being allied to the Codex Laudianus (E e), the Gigas (gig.), and the Codex Bezae; in addition to this it seems to possess certain elements which are peculiar. I venture to subjoin a very few of the more interesting readings:—

Acts vii. 58. Of the stoning of St Stephen, *et falsi testes deposuerunt uestimenta sua*, etc.; the *falsi* is, I believe, peculiar; h has *et illi testes*.

viii. 21. St Peter's address to Simon Magus, "Thou hast neither part nor lot in this *faith*" (*fide ac*); this variant is found in syr.^{sch} ar.^{e} Ambr. Aug., and in a slightly different form in the Apost. Const.

ix. 4. St Paul after the vision fell to the ground *cum magna mentis alienatione* (*mentis alienacio* is used for *mentis excessus*, x. 10); this addition is, I believe, peculiar; similarly the interpretation of Dorcas' name (*id est demula*, v. 36; *damula*, v. 39) later in the same chapter.

xi. 27. The interesting note is found that the Prophets descended from Jerusalem to Antioch, *eratque magna exultacio* (= D d Aug.).

xii. 3. Of Herod's persecution, *Quod cum uidisset quia placeret iudeis ceptum istud de sanctis et fidelibus* (= D η επιχειρησις αυτου επι τους πιστους, d *conprae-hensio eius super credentes*; also syr. p. mg.).

I have noticed, too, the use of *in conspectu* for *coram* (ii. 25, viii. 21), and *ante* (vii. 46, x. 30), which is characteristic of the Codex Bezae; but in quoting from the Old Testament (viii. 32) *coram* is retained; στράτηγος is translated *prefectus* (v. 24, 26), and *prepositus* (iv. 1; similarly in d Lc. xxii. 52); other noticeable

variants, *conuencio* for *synagoga*, *consuetudines* for *traditiones*, *sublimissimus* for *altissimus*, etc., have been already noticed by M. Berger (p. 22, and *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 78); yet surely *magnum falsum uatem* is not a translation of ψευδοπροφήτην, but of μάγον ψευδοπροφήτην; *i.e.*, *magnum* is a slip for *magum*, and *falsum uatem* is the equivalent of ψευδοπροφήτην.

H. J. WHITE.

The Literary Study of the Bible.

By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Literature in English in the University of Chicago. London: Isbister & Co., 1896. 8*vo*, *pp. xii.* 533. *Price*, 10*s.* 6*d.*

WITH this interesting and suggestive book Mr Moulton has broken new ground in the study of Scripture. Apart from the usual remarks on the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, which, since Bishop Lowth's day, have found a place in every work on Old Testament Introduction; apart also from the almost forgotten book of Professor John Forbes of Aberdeen on "The Symmetrical Structure of Scripture," we know of no attempt to enter on a systematic analysis and classification of the forms used in Biblical prose and poetry. Mr Moulton perhaps would not care to maintain that these forms were as highly developed or as consciously followed as in classical poetry, though in the later psalms and in the Wisdom literature there are increasing signs of artificiality of structure. But even granting that the forms he discusses were spontaneous,—the moulds into which the heat of passion and thought ran unconsciously,—his book becomes all the more instructive, as dealing, not so much with artistic technicalities, but rather with the underlying processes of reasoning and expression. In this way it might not unjustly be described as a series of exegetical studies, founded, not on minute considerations of grammar and biography, but on broad interpretations from a literary point of view; and as, in any view of its inspiration, the Bible is not a book but a literature, there should be wide and hearty welcome for a volume which, with keen insight and reverent feeling, makes it easier to recognise the beauty, dignity, and force of that literature.

According to Mr Moulton, "the Bible is the worst-printed book in the world," and a sentence from his preface will explain his meaning. "Let the reader imagine the poems of Wordsworth, the plays of Shakespeare, the essays of Bacon, and the histories of Motley to be bound together in a single volume; let him suppose the titles of the poems and essays cut out, and the names of

speakers and divisions of speeches removed, the whole divided up into sections of a convenient length for parsing, and again into lessons containing a larger or smaller number of these sentences." Beyond a doubt our English Bibles are not printed in such fashion as to afford the best guidance to one who is not looking for proof-texts or scraps for doctrine and edification, but is desirous to read with intelligence the books in their entirety. The revisers made some improvement when they relegated to the margin the marks of the division into chapters and verses, printing the prose in paragraphs, and the poetry in parallel lines. Much more, however, might still be done to place the books of the Bible before the ordinary reader in a manner that will help him towards making his own interpretation, and in Mr Moulton's volume will be found principles and rules which may help towards such better printing of the Bible.

He reveals the possibilities contained in his literary method of interpretation by devoting forty pages of an introduction to a skilful and suggestive analysis of the book of Job. With this analysis and the revised version in hand, the ordinary reader may make his way into what Carlyle called "one of the grandest things written by pen"; though, as it stands in the Authorised Version, it might also be called one of the most obscure. The Prologue with its three trials of Job—by bereavement, by personal suffering, and by time which brings no remedy—states the problem, viz., the mystery of human suffering; and the poem, dramatic in style, though not in form, presents from varying points of view five different solutions. In the working out of these solutions lies the literary beauty of the whole. The suggestion that the Satan of the book is not the spirit of evil, the adversary of God, but rather a kind of *advocatus diaboli*, is to us novel; but there is considerable freshness in the whole analysis.

In entering upon the main part of his work, Mr Moulton starts from the simplest forms in which the Hebrew parallelism appears, the couplet and the triplet; and with these builds up the quatrains, double triplets, and stanzas of various forms that are traceable in the poetry of the Bible. He is careful at once to show that these are not mere technicalities, but helps to a clearer conception of the thought. "When the genius of a language rests the whole system of its versification upon symmetry of clauses, it becomes a safe presumption that parallelism will penetrate very deeply into its logical processes of thought." In a chapter on "The Lower and Higher Unity of Scripture," he fully vindicates the value which a careful study of literary forms may have for the exegete; and his ingenious remarks on the unity of authorship in Biblical poetry have an important bearing on not a few problems which have

been set up for us by the Higher Criticism. The modern conception of authorship which associates a poem or book with its individual writer is wholly out of place in times when poems or books were not considered individual property, to be kept sacred and unchanged, but were handed down from generation to generation to be revised, altered, and added to, and thus became the product of many minds

Mr Moulton gives as the four cardinal points of literature, Description and Presentation, Poetry and Prose; and traces the steps by which the ballad-dance, which is the beginning of all literary form, passes through the influence of these cardinal points into the lyric, epic, and dramatic forms of poetry, and the historical, philosophical, and rhetorical forms of prose. His classification is fully illustrated by the discussion of actual passages, and as examples of the freshness and suggestiveness of such discussion and analysis we have noted his remarks on Ps. cxiv. (p. 60), Ps. cvii. (pp. 65-67), Ps. cxxxix. (pp. 77-80), Job xxviii. (pp. 86-89), Gen. i. (pp. 71-72). Similar examples are taken from the prophetical writings—Amos i., ii.; Joel ii. 1-11; Zephaniah.

Book II. is devoted to the Lyric Poetry of the Bible, the songs of Deborah and Miriam receiving special attention. No less noteworthy are his remarks on what he calls the liturgical psalms, *e.g.*, Ps. lxxxvi.; and on Ps. xc., regarding which he argues that while its title is undoubtedly "Life as a Passing Day," the setting of its thought is in images taken from a mountain sunrise. The treatment of History and Epic in Book III. is briefer and less satisfactory, but in the following book on the Wisdom Literature, under which head Mr Moulton includes Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon, his methods yield excellent results, and many will turn to this part of his volume as the most instructive of all. Succeeding books are occupied with the Literature of Prophecy and of Rhetoric. Nor should Appendix I. be overlooked, "A Literary Index of the Bible," as it is practically a summary of the whole and a general application of the methods expounded.

Some of the interpretations proposed may not find general acceptance, but that does not detract from the value and importance of Mr Moulton's book as a whole. The professed exegete will miss a good deal by neglecting it, and the general reader will be led by it into a new appreciation of the beauty and sublimity of Biblical literature. The whole tendency of modern exegesis is to treat the books of the Bible as separate wholes, to be studied in relation to their own peculiar circumstances and character. This book may induce even those who are not scholars to abandon the unintelligent method of reading Scripture in arbitrary sections and for quotable texts, and to take pleasure in a broader method which, while taking cognisance of the literary form, unfolds more com-

pletely the spiritual power. Mr Moulton has applied his methods on a larger scale in special editions of Proverbs and of Ecclesiasticus in a series called "The Modern Reader's Bible." We hope he will be encouraged to publish other books of the Bible in similar form.

DAVID HUNTER, D.D.

Avestan Difficulties not a Hindrance.

Communication from Dr. L. H. Mills, Oxford.

NOT pausing to inquire here why it is that Zendists, or rather, as I am forced to say, some self-styled Zendists, differ so widely from each other as to their interpretations of the Avesta, I would at once endeavour to show what the nature of those differences is; as to their degree and variety, see the very able remarks of Mr Moulton in the January number of this review. While I try to show what these very minute and frequent divergences in opinion among experts are, I would at the same time endeavour to explain to enquirers why they are of little importance to us in our practical use of the Avesta, and especially in our use of the Gâthas, for the purposes of comparative theology. If I understand the matter aright, the questions of interest to the critical clergy are such as these—"What is the conception of God which appears in the Gâthas?" "Are His attributes of the pagan type or of the so-called spiritual or monotheistical type?" "What is the nature of man as pourtrayed in them?" "Is he really immortal?" "Is he moral, that is to say, in the Socratic sense?" "What is the moral idea in the Gâthas?" and the like.

Now I doubt whether any scholar living will deny the following statement, which I make without reserve:—The very prevalent uncertainties as to the exegesis of the Gâthas leave these great questions untouched, strange as it may seem. To explain:—The effort of Zend specialists to recover their texts, and the meaning hidden in them has largely reference to the point of the *syntax;* and this happens to leave all that is most dear to theologians totally, or almost totally unaffected. There is as little uncertainty in the general report of the Gâthas as to the nature of God, man, and his soul, as there is in the Old Testament, and perhaps less (if it be not improper to compare the two). To come at once to the proof, explanation and illustration, of this statement, we may begin with what is the most striking circumstance which is involved in the inquiry, and which lies at its very foundation. It is this: The consecutive words in the Gâthas are in their great mass closely

related to *Sanskrit* words[1]; and not only so, but they are to a large extent equivalent with them, as to their roots, and also approximately as to their forms; so much so that a continuous translation of them into Sanskrit, or an inter-translation between them and the Sanskrit, may be made, which would show an approximate identity between them at once. And as the Sanskrit has been widely studied not only for thousands of years in *India*, but since Wilson also in Europe, of course the Sanskrit has become a practically interpreted language, which makes its evidence complete. A vast array of texts exist in print and manuscript; very many grammars have been written and commentaries and dictionaries made; when then Zend is reduced to Sanskrit it is obvious that our task is greatly furthered, if not, indeed, as we may say, at once one-half completed.

This approach to identity between the Zend and Sanskrit forms is a fact so important, so interesting, and, above all, so *practical*, that, on being invited to contribute an article to the Festgrüss of the late Professor Roth of Tuebingen, I followed his own example,[2] and gave a chapter of the Gâthas in the Sanskrit forms (for which also I may say in passing, for it touched me deeply, I received the special thanks of the eminent scholar in a last letter received from him before his death). Let anybody glance over those pages[3] and he will see the Sanskrit equivalents of the Gâtha in continuity, or syntax, as well as in their inflectional and conjugational forms, and he will be able to trace their connection, as it were in a sweep of the eye.

This is, of course, not the proper place to print even a strophe of them in transliteration, but if I should print a page and mark its doubtful words with a coloured pencil, but few such strokes would be visible as the sheet lay open before our view.

Take the very first strophe:—With the exception of a proper name, and with some slight changes in declension, the whole twenty-two Sanskrit words are identical with the Zend as to both root and form, that is to say of course, after the phonetic changes have been made, and nobody anywhere will question it. So for the most part with the second strophe and the third, and so on (with the exception of the fifth)[4] throughout. Here and there

[1] The first duty and one half of the work of a Zendist is to trace the relation between the Zend and the Sanskrit.

[2] He translated a chapter of the Yasna into Sanskrit in the Zeitschrift D.M.G.

[3] Festgrüss an Rud. v. Roth zum Doktor-jubilæum. Stuttg. 1893, p. 193. See an interesting reference to it in Oldenberg's "Religion des Vedas."

[4] The fifth strophe is a remarkable instance exactly in point to illustrate the most abrupt differences in interpretation, while the tone remains the same, and the alternatives present doctrines elsewhere often reproduced.

one form, say, in twenty may be doubtful, and once I have translated by an analogous but not identical root, which, if I were writing at present, I should avoid. And not only are the words almost all of them from the beginning closely identical with the Zend *mutatis mutandis* as to both root and form, but they are all of them, or almost all of them, not only possible and formable but also clear and well-known Sanskrit words; and what is true of this chapter is true in differing degrees of the rest of the Gâthas, and indeed of the entire Avesta. Here and there a word appears which lacks a Sanskrit equivalent as to root; but only here and there. If this be the fact (and the document lies open to the public), the non-special, but, none the less, "critical" reader will then at once ask, "How then are uncertainties possible? Uncertainties so great as have been described, and admitted?"

I answer first; they are possible on account of the *differing shades of meaning* which the same words bear in Zend and in Sanskrit; and secondly they are possible on account of the *poverty of the syntax* which is present in the Gâthas.

As to the first, no linguist should regard it as at all possible that identical words in two languages, or in different dialects of the same language, should retain or should even have ever possessed unvaried shades of meaning. The different times and places in which a language is used infallibly develop changes in meanings; witness the differences prevailing even between mediæval English and Victorian English, between English English and provincial English, not to speak of the difference between English and Scotch, or between English and Cornish, etc. The early Indian, as we know, differed, but hardly *a fortiori*, with time and place, and the Vedic language later fell into the spoken Prakrit and the classic Sanskrit. It is in consequence of these changes that we are always endeavouring to sound for closer similarities in shades of meaning everywhere, in order to offset them, but we are quite as apt to come upon rich divergences as upon rich connections.

In harmony with this familiar condition of things the Gâthic meaning must differ from the Vedic as the Zend must differ from the Gâthic, or the Vedic from the Sanskrit; and as to which shade of meaning we shall accept in a given case, we must depend upon our educated instinct. A correct grouping of these various linguistic peculiarities with the related facts from comparative history has long been recognised as the only just criterion by the aid of which we may form our opinions as to what ancient oriental texts may mean. Etymology possesses fascination, but it belongs more closely to the *Sprachforscher*. The *Philolog* has in charge both

etymology and exegesis.[1] Syntax, however, is a sturdy problem directly in our path, and the syntax of the Gâthas is certainly less firm than the syntax of most other compositions, including, as the nearest approach to the Gâthas, the Ṛik. Of course, the question of differing texts also meets us, and we must at once shake off all confused hesitation on this subject; for we must challenge every text at every moment. To restore our texts by well-justified and prepared conjecture is not our first duty only because it goes on hand-in-hand with exegesis; for how can we possibly approach the question of the translation of a text before we have decided that we have a text to translate? Yet in spite of every conceivable difficulty the one striking result remains and comes out beyond all question; it is what I at first more vaguely stated, "the possible differing translations of the Gâthas are limited in their number, for the language present is of such a nature that even when its syntax is varied it cannot be forced to express other than a certain class of ideas; and any one of two or more possible renderings is identical with each and all of the others in the one supreme characteristic, viz., the expression of a lofty, if imperfect, tone of sentiment. I will at once produce passages which illustrate this view, and as I proceed I will bring in that application which alone gives the subject and the argument importance to critical theologians for the purpose of establishing the facts which may constitute the framework of a comparative theology; that is to say, I will endeavour to show step by step how grave the difficulties are for grammar, and how trivial they are as to creed. Take again the first strophe which meets us in Yasna XXVIII, 1, b., we have there either "actions toward all done in the Right (Asha)" or "all actions done in the Right." What has this possibly to do with the moral theology of the passage? Then we have also to choose between a text which gives "the grace of Mazda, the bounteous spirit," and one which offers "of Thy bounteous spirit, O Mazda:" this last has interest for the theology of the Avesta, but does not touch what we most desire to investigate from our present point of view. In the second verse, or strophe, we have "adherents placed in welfare" or "recipients placed in beatitude," while each translator attributes a distinctly religious element to this "welfare" or "beatitude;" and their differences do not touch the striking line before, which reads "gifts for the two lives give me, this bodily life and the

[1] But the main particulars in etymology are supposed to have been long familiar to both the one and the other, and if so to every investigator who undertakes these texts; it is for this reason that we are to some extent ashamed to mention etymologies and confine our suggestions for the most part to those which offer themselves from the objective data and from the realistic point of view. This is, however, almost aside.

mental," a distinction which tells at once for "immortality" and the "moral idea." In the third strophe we have a beautiful word saved from "tradition," as I would hold, by Sanskrit analogy. "O Righteousness, and thou Good Mind, with surpassing chants I'll praise you." Here I prefer the text apaourvîm =°*viyem* which means "having no first, having nothing beyond it," while others prefer the text *paourvîm* (=°*viyem*)[1] meaning simply "I will praise you the first;" another, reading with me as above, gives merely the meaning "new," "I will praise you anew." Here are three differing renderings involving details not uninteresting to a specialist, but of what possible importance are they to Christian theologians desiring to get an idea as to what the Gâthas really teach in their main burden, "God and His attributes praised as *the first*," is good; "I will praise anew," is better; "with a surpassing hymn," is best. In the next strophe we have a moment's change off from the controversy, for we meet a word, upon the origin of which no one is certain, but which means "everlasting," as all agree. "Mazda for whom our Piety aids the *everlasting* (*i.e.*, the imperishable) kingdom." But at once our conflict reverts, for we are not sure whether we have "O Righteousness (Asha) and thou Good Mind, O Piety and Kingly Power, come ye to my calls," or "let Piety (zeal, alertness, aramaiti) come" (the other words being gathered to another verb); and again, does "Piety promote, or is she promoting?" (*sic*). Now these differences are real and interesting to one examining the syntax; but are they not trivial for our present purpose? and the majority of Gâthic difficulties, with occasional exceptions, is of this character.[2] If then, as Mr Moulton well puts it, "the Gâthas, or Hymns of Zoroaster, are by far the most precious relic we possess of Oriental Religion, the only sacred literature which in dignity, in profoundness, in purity of thought and absolute freedom from unworthy conceptions of the divine could ever for a moment be compared with the Hebrew Scriptures;" if this be a fair report of them in their bearing upon comparative theology, then critical readers will be glad to know the obvious facts which I have stated. I am not aware that others have called attention to them before, but I cannot conceive how they can be contested. We have now collated all the ancient translations and all the modern ones, and I say that there is none of them worth considering, nay none of them which exists, which does not express what as theologians we most admire.

[1] So I also preferred myself in S. B. E. XXXI, then placing my now preferred text in the second place.

[2] For an extraordinary case of subordinate uncertainty see my Gâthas, page 398, on Y. XXVIII., 5; yet even here each view has the one thing which we at the present moment are seeking for.

Take a very few further instances. "I who my soul am giving to watchful zeal with Thy Good Mind."[1] Here I formerly preferred a text which gave "to the Mount," that is to say to the Mount Alborj, where souls are to pass the Judgment-Bridge which stretches over Hell. That first suggestion pleased my keen friend Roth, but I would now put it in the second place; yet if we have not the "Mount" here, we have the Bridge itself in Y. 46—"forth to the Judge's Bridge with all I go," "when on the Bridge they come (the Judgment's pathway[2])"; and as to the watchfulness of the soul, or "the song of the soul" (another possible view), are they not both in harmony with "Judgment"? The soul "watches and sings its praise" in view of "judgment," and each idea is given elsewhere, if not here; while all conceptions radically heterogeneous to these are excluded by the next line, which reads, "I knowing the rewards of actions given by Ahura," which is itself followed by what we may term (with time and place in view) the "immortal" words, "O Holiness (Asha),[3] when shall I see Thee," etc.

But here a reader might be pleased with a little explanation. How can these ideas or "meanings" be thus restricted? What is it which keeps them within this limit? Vedic and other anthologies do not present such a feature or peculiarity. The explanation lies in the constant use of words not only of a similar radical cast with each other, but conveying among themselves certain clear cut and closely related ideas, and a sustained resemblance in meaning also with the corresponding Indian words (which latter circumstance by no means goes without saying). But how did this last come about? for it is most singular that the Gâthas should be hemmed-in as to the scope of their expressions. If they were cold and dry like metaphysics or mathematics, little else could be expected; simplicity, poverty, and repetition in the choice of terms would be *de jure* the order of the day in them, but they are not cold in the sense of metaphysics; they burn with life in the excited passages, and glow with it in calmer ones; notice the vocatives everywhere, the second personals, and the iterations. It is indeed most fortunate for us, I may remark by the way, that the genius of the composer was fervent rather than florid, giving us this sameness in his terms as they recur; but what was the reason for it, or, if you please, what was the excuse for it? I would answer, "It was the names of the Amshaspends."

The crisis explains this. The strong interest of the moment

[1] See Gâthas, pp. 397 and on Y. XXVIII., 4.

[2] Words supplied from the previous verse.

[3] I translate Asha freely and indifferently by Holiness, Righteousness; sometimes by the "Right," "Truth" in my metrical renderings; this is in order to fill out the metre or round the rhythm.

centred in the person and attributes of God, in His law, love, power, and action, and His immortal weal, and for the solid reason that this personality and these attributes were needed at every moment to save the people and their constitution (religious, legal, military) from overthrow, because a belief in God and His attributes was all that kept things compact, and saved the enthusiasm of the nation which, at this moment, alone upheld its existence. The smallest "let-up" and all would have crumbled to powder. But the names of these attributes as they recurred in their chief documents, the Gâthas, *of themselves make up a vocabulary*, and they come back ceaselessly because they were at every moment needed, like the theme in a symphony.

The remark has indeed been made that the Gâthas were a "glorification of the Amshaspends." They are too passionate and serious to be a "glorification" of anything less than the Amshaspends; but as these are the personified attributes of God aroused into saving grace for His people we might allow that the Gâthas were indeed the "Amshaspends' glorification," and, as they recur at every step for the reasons given, this alone carries with it the restriction referred to. There was *little room* for analogous terminology. Asha, Vohu Manah, Kashathra, Aramaiti fairly crowd out other moral expressions from the strophes, and what words could possibly take the place of Haurvatât and Ameretatât? And we owe the alternative certainties in the Gâthas as to these matters to this fact; the same cast of sentiment was forced to come out everywhere because *these all-pervading words could not do other than express it.* Vohu Manah is the Benevolence of Deity, for we cannot restrict the word to His "Sanity," or "Wisdom;" Asha is the Holy Order of the Law, now in the mind of God, now in the inspired statutes (including ritual), now in the saintly citizen. Khshathra is the Sovereign Power, Aramaiti is the activity, alertness of His purpose; Haurvatât is the result, wholeness or beatitude, while Ameretatât, immortality, is its permanence. How can sentences in which these terms are for ever recurring, and which are dominated by their especial significance give off other than lofty sentiment? The words in themselves were sacrosanct; so much so that indeed they soon lost their fine meaning and became mere proper names, the sublime personification of poetry yielding to the lower personification of dogmatism; but while their vitality still lingered, and especially while it continued in full strength, when these words came in, great thoughts could not help but come in with them. They must have controlled the sense which followed, and, if their approach was felt, they must have influenced the sense which went before. This alone relieves us sensibly. The Gâthic hymns are poor in terminology because the names of the

Attributes make less impressive language useless, and because they *occupy its space.*

While the Ṛik glows and scintillates with a hundred human passions, rich in its colour beyond a common measure, the Gâthas burn with sterner fire, narrowed and severe, a puritan fanaticism. The one is nature eager for acquisition just or selfish, and spread out in its depictments like the red of the auroras; the other was focussed flame, devouring and intense. Read Yasna XXXII, XXXIII, parts of XXXI and XXXIV, and the polemic parts throughout ; even in the wedding fragment, Y. LIII, ferocity appears. The meditative parts are as much preoccupied with deep-felt sentiment as the more vehement ones are engaged with uttered thoughts; everywhere the thrice holy Law, the Love, Power, Busy Will of Ahura pervade the subject matter and show an earnest conviction which is ever pressing to break out. This makes the Gâthas easier, only in a preliminary sense indeed; but that is something, nay, it is much. Any reader with a good guide may get the cream of them in a comparatively very brief period of time. To absorb their full significance in all its detail, originally, and as a teacher, this should indeed consume the toil of patient years; and it is, I profoundly regret to say, a task most rarely met;[1] but the study of this close detail these secrets of the syllables, need not engage investigators who are searching for the main doctrines; *obscurities can wait.* They were solved, let us not forget, to the first hearers of the Gâthas. The perfervid throngs saw all the backgrounds of the subjects brought before them; they could feel the force of each allusion, and get the help of every side light. The songs were repeated doubtless by rhapsodists on many a feast, and to groups coming from the remotest spots of Iran; see the very words which head a leading Gâtha, "O ye who come from near and from afar;" and those hymns arose too, from notorious facts which stirred the people's life; little doubt could exist, at least in Iranian minds, as to what their closer meaning was, for all the particulars were familiar and Zarathushtra's priests had taught from tent to tent; but as to their bare language in itself considered, as it stood and stands to-day fixed in its ancient metre, I doubt if the first hearers themselves could always catch its point, that is to say, at their first hearing, and before its full meanings had been purposely expounded; but these immediate allusions and this local point do not constitute their supreme value to us, because the claims of moral investigators,

[1] One of the greatest literary scandals of the century exists in this connection, some of the most prominent representatives of the subject (in another country) having long omitted all study of the most difficult of the many branches involved.

that is to say, our claims in searching ancient lore for the higher developments of human sentiment (as it were, for a history of the soul), morally dominate the interests of the secular historian and of the *philolog.* To work in the moral field is a nobler duty, and for that we need only the body of the thought in the Gâthas, which is very clear.

"But are there then no doubts at all as to these main doctrines of these hymns?" The non-specialist but critical reader will ask—"no doubts whatsoever?" There are no doubts at all, I would plainly answer, that is to say, none which are not solvable like all other ordinary doubts by tact and common sense. If space can be spared me in another issue of this Review, I hope to show some further facts of interest, and illustrate this serious question yet more, for if theology accepts Mr Moulton's estimate of the practical bearing of the Gâthas on comparative religion, it would seem to be a duty for a Zend specialist, who is at the same time a religious teacher, to follow up a general statement with details.

L. H. MILLS.

Studies in the Evolutionary Psychology of Feeling.

By Hiram M. Stanley, Member of the American Psychological Association. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan & Co. 8*vo, pp.* 392. *Price,* 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE volume consists of a series of studies of a tentative nature, says the author, all too modestly, in Evolutionary Psychology. The current doctrine of Evolution is assumed. Mind is viewed as a biological function continually evolving in the service of self-conservation and self-furtherance. The endeavour is to indicate the stages in the Evolution of Feeling, and to analyse some of its more important features. The conclusion is reached that "mind was at first, and is always as progressive, feeling-impelled will, and that sensing arose as secondary." The author claims to be an enquirer only, offering the best interpretation he can give of certain data. It may be truly said that he is an interesting guide, with an acute and penetrating mind.

Psychology is regarded as the most imperfect of the sciences. It can show no such *consensus,* amounting to practical unanimity, as is found among specialists in the departments of knowledge known as the natural sciences. This lack of generally accepted results is more apparent in the domain of feeling than elsewhere. Feeling has too often been discussed from an *a priori* point of view, as by Herbart.

The physical side of emotion has been so emphasised by the physiological school as to distract attention from purely psychological investigation. As a consequence little has been accomplished in the pure psychology of feeling. The essays attempt a scientific study of feeling regarded as a biological function governed by the general laws of life, and subject in origin and development to the law of struggle for existence.

The first task is to discover the primitive consciousness. Mind, like all other vital functions, must originate in some very simple and elementary form as demanded at some critical moment for the preservation of the organism. Mind could not originate as awareness of object, or in any discriminating activity, for mere apprehension would not serve the being. The demand of the organism is for what will accomplish immediate movement to the place of safety. How is this secured? It is secured by pain. The stone, pressed upon by a heavy weight, does not react to secure itself, but is crushed out of its identity: the organism, however, reacts at once, and through pain. Primitive mind, then, starts as pure pain: a bare undifferentiated pain is the original conscious act. It is difficult to say what this pain really is, since it is quite foreign to the mental acts of which we are conscious. The primitive pain was not a pain of any particular kind, but was undifferentiated, wholly without quality, and is comparable only to a formless, unorganised mass of protoplasm, which has in it potency of future development.

With this primitive act of blind, formless pain the law of conservation requires us to associate the will-act of struggle and effort, which also is simple and undifferentiated. These two we must mark as the original elements of all mental life. Strenuousness, through and by pain, is primal, and is simplest force which can conduce to self-preservation. It is thus that active beings are constituted. The earliest conscious response to outward things has no cognitive value. The first consciousness was a flash of pain, of smallest intensity yet sufficient to awaken struggle and preserve life.

Pleasure plays no part in absolutely primitive consciousness. Pleasure and pain could not both be primitive functions; and of the two, pain is fundamental, in that the earliest function of consciousness must be purely minatory. Pain secures struggle, which ends in the abatement of pain through change of environment or otherwise. As long as pain continues there is effort and self-conserving action; when pain ceases, consciousness ceases, because the need for it has gone. Each fit of pain subsides into unconsciousness as struggle succeeds, and there is no room for even the pleasure of relief, which, indeed, must be accounted a tolerably

late feeling. As far as the lowest organisms have a conscious life it is a pain life; but they have a Nirvâna in a real unconsciousness.

The evolution of pleasure is recorded as a distinct problem. Pleasure is not the original stimulant of will. The pleasure mode enters early, however, to sharpen by contrast the pain mode; and it is only by their interaction that any high grade of psychic life could be built up. The development of pleasure can not be from pain, but as a polar opposite to it. In a sense we may say that pleasure and pain are complementary, like positive and negative electricity, but the comparison must not be pressed; neither is absolutely essential to the other. That pleasure is secondary is suggested also by the circumstance that pleasure is mainly connected with such late formations as the special senses, whereas pain is prominent with earlier functions; thus we have pleasures of taste, but visceral pleasure is scarcely noticeable, though visceral pain as colic may be very acute. The origin of pleasure is to be traced as an intermediary feeling between pain as produced by excess and pain from lack. The original psychic state is to be sought in a pain-effort form.

Now the speculative, and even ethical, interest of all this seems to me to be great, but the question arises, is it verifiable? and if not, can it be scientific? And if not, will it contribute to the establishment of a science of psychology, which is the *desideratum* of our author? Again, Mr Stanley sides with those who make feeling primitive. He is in conflict with those who make cognition primitive, and with those who regard cognition and feeling as inseparable except in thought or analysis: and he presents no eirenicon. The necessity for so interpreting the facts will not be apparent to those who do not accept the thesis that the latent and inward order is always from feeling to knowledge, but affirm that feeling never can be said to exist in a pure state as bare pleasure and pain totally without cognitive value, and who hold that cognition, feeling, will, is the order for all mind. We are on an ancient battlefield. Again, the question forces itself upon us, in what does this pain inhere? what is it that feels? what is it that evolves? Life and mind are not identical terms. We read that structure is the result of function: that organs are the result of effort: that effort is essentially voluntary effort. But what is it that puts forth effort? Apparently a function. The author does not expect that the origin of mind can be discovered in the laboratory; but is it discovered to us in undifferentiated pain? And if not, is not the genesis of feeling still an unsolved problem?

The chapters in which the author works out his theory of the evolution of the feelings are far too subtle and elaborate to allow of condensed statement in a short notice like this. It must suffice

to say that the work is done with discrimination, suggestiveness, and originality. Mr Stanley calls no man master; but his independence never tempts him to think lightly of those from whom he differs. He breaks a lance with Darwin, with Mr Herbert Spencer, with Dr James Ward, and many others, but he is an honourable foeman, and is intent on attaining truth. The principle of natural selection is skilfully employed, but its limitations are recognised. Where the conclusions of others are accepted they are set in fresh lights. His "Remarks on Attention" awaken interest in the reader, as also does his discussion of the rise and development of self-consciousness. The chapter on "Induction and Emotion" abounds in fruitful suggestion: those on "Æsthetic Psychosis" and on "The Psychology of Literary Style" amply repay consideration and study; and this is true also of his treatment of "Ethical Emotion" and of "The Expression of Feeling." The volume furnishes throughout interesting and attractive reading, and will be found a welcome contribution on a subject that has received insufficient attention. In a new edition of the work the numerical references in the index will need to be revised.

VAUGHAN PRYCE.

Archäologie der altchristlichen Kunst.

Von Dr Victor Schultze, Professor an der Universität Greifswald. München: Oskar Beck, 1895; *London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Small 4to, pp. xii.,* 382. *Price,* 10*s.*

"AN uninterrupted study of Christian Archaeology, which has occupied nearly twenty years, and has given me occasion to become personally acquainted with nearly all the more important monuments of that branch of research, both in the east and in the west"—this is the foundation on which Professor Schultze puts forward his claim to speak with authority on his subject. And in truth, there is not a page of this work which does not bear testimony to the painful industry and mathematical accuracy which seem to be the birthright of German scholars.

The work is primarily intended for those who are entering upon the study of the antiquities of the early Christian church. It therefore "aims rather at being to the point than at being complete: the author's object being the compilation of a practical text-book." An admirable feature of the work is the large and full bibliography prefixed to each section; additional references are given in the notes in smaller type, and in the footnotes. This alone would make the book valuable to those for whom it is intended.

Professor Schultze is not afraid to acknowledge his indebtedness to his predecessors in the same field; but the book is no mere abridgement of the work of previous investigators. Both in text and illustrations he claims to have thrown overboard much useless "ballast" which generation has inherited from generation, and to have filled its place with new matter. Much of this new material is the result of a special attention paid to the remains of the church in Syria.

The author has divided his work into five parts, prefaced by a short introduction. In these sections he discusses in turn the subjects of Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, Microtechnics, and Iconography.

The introductory portion of the work is occupied with a short history of the progress of discovery and investigation in Christian Archaeology, containing a remarkably full list of the names of the principal writers; an interesting essay on the relation of the church to art; and another, comparing the general characteristics of the arts of the pagan classic races, and those of the early ages of Christianity. But the most useful chapter of this section is the topographical conspectus of existing monuments. Each country of the ancient world is taken in turn, and a paragraph (to which a good bibliography is in every case appended) is devoted to giving a general account of the remains there existing. We naturally turn to the heading "England," but are disappointed to find nothing recorded except numerous microtechnic remains in the museums, and a few fragments of mosaic pavements. It would, perhaps, have been well for Professor Schultze to have mentioned the recovery of the Basilica of Silchester, or the fragments of Roman work found in one or two of the English churches: but these are all comparatively unimportant; a more serious omission is that of all reference to the rich remains of the early church in Ireland, which form a unique chapter in the history of Christian Archaeology.

In the section devoted to Architecture, the vexed question of the origin of the normal church plans is the first subject discussed. Considering first the basilican plan, Professor Schultze traces its origin to the plan of the ordinary private house of the better sort —the first scene of Christian worship. This discussion is fully illustrated, showing a very close parallel between the parts of a house and those of a basilican church. The atrium becomes the narthex, the cellae surrounding the atrium the cloisters of the narthex, the impluvium the baptistery (an identification which strikes us as somewhat forced); the peristyle court corresponds to the church itself, and the exedra to the apse. This is ingenious, but not absolutely convincing: the atrium is roofed—save for the

hypaethrum—the narthex not so; the peristyle court, on the other hand, is an open garden, whereas the church is roofed. No reference is made to the theory championed by Professor Baldwin Brown[1]—that the origin of the Basilica is to be sought in the *scholae* or club-rooms of friendly societies and similar organisations, which sprang into being at Rome in the days of the Empire. The development of the aisles and their galleries, and the solution of problems of ventilation and lighting; the changes consequent on the increase of clerical power, the elaboration of the ritual, the division of the sexes which was found to be expedient, the development of the noviciary and penitentiary systems, and the supersession of congregational by professional musical services—all these are described with characteristic German thoroughness. We should, however, have liked to see the contrast between the secular and the ecclesiastical basilica fully brought out: the old prescientific fallacy which derived the one straight from the other is hard to kill. We note that Professor Schultze calls the plan which shows a western apse in addition to the eastern "abnormal." It is no doubt rare, but is almost too common to warrant this adjective. The first cathedral of Canterbury, for example, was built on this plan. Among Professor Schultze's illustrations in this section, perhaps the most interesting is that of a bronzed lamp formed in the shape of a miniature basilica; but we cannot find that Professor Schultze informs his readers where this remarkable relic is to be seen, excepting a hint, sixty pages further on in the work, that it is "North African." It is probably older than the lamp in the form of a building adorned with towers, of which a figure is given in Spallart, *Tableaux histor. des costumes et mœurs*, pl. xx., fig. 4. This criticism applies equally well to several other illustrations of small objects in the book, and is an unsatisfactory feature, for even though the faithfulness of the author is above suspicion, students would be glad to know where to seek antiquities of interest, such as this lamp, whenever the opportunity of travel should present itself. Professor Schultze regards towers organically connected with the associated building—not excepting the round tower of Ravenna—as the work of that vague period known as the "early middle ages." This chapter closes with a useful series of descriptions of selected basilicas, among which St Peter's at Rome naturally receives the fullest treatment.

The description of the domed churches is shorter, and hardly so satisfactory. It is largely occupied with accounts of the two important buildings, St Vitale at Ravenna and St Sophia at Constantinople; but little or no reference is made to general principles, or to the development of the dome from the simple

[1] *From Schola to Cathedral*, ad init.

hemisphere of the Pantheon to the ingenious elaboration of pendentives found in later buildings. A short chapter on orientation and enclosing walls follows, in the course of which we are glad to note a severe remark on the popular notion that a church is oriented towards the point of sunrise on its patron's feast-day. Private chapels then form a subject of brief discussion; reference to the building discovered in 1876 near the baths of Diocletian is made for illustrative purposes.

Professor Schultze proceeds to the interesting subject of monastic buildings—the laura and caenobium. The remarkable development of the laura system in Ireland has apparently missed his attention; such establishments as those of Inismurray and Skellig Michael ought surely to have been mentioned along with the monastery of Iona. To the latter a reference is made; and in this connection the name of Columba's biographer is misprinted "Adaman." This is the only serious misprint we have noticed. Chapters on "church furniture" and "sepulchral architecture" conclude this first section. In the former the altar, stalls, ambo, and lights, with the appurtenances of each, are carefully described; in the latter, perhaps the most interesting portion is the brief description of the catacombs, with plans of some of the more important, and a topographical conspectus of similar excavations in various parts of the world.

The remaining portions of the work are shorter than the first. In Section II. Professor Schultze treats of colour decoration, both painting and mosaic. The mural paintings in the catacombs and elsewhere are first discussed, but Professor Schultze devotes himself entirely to the designs and subjects represented; of the technique of the art he says little, except that our information is at present defective. Of the subjects found in such situations Professor Schultze gives a very full list, with careful notice of the conventions adopted and the incidental symbolism observable; and he calls special attention to the adaptation of ancient myths to Christian teaching on the one hand, and of scenes known to the new religion to the scenes of the old mythology on the other—the well-known Orpheus being perhaps the best example of the first case, the figure of Jonah resting (where Professor Schultze sees a reminiscence of the sleeping Endymion), of the second. Another ancient common-place receives scant courtesy in this chapter—the derivation of the fish symbol from the initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Ὑιὸς Σωτήρ is stigmatised as a "Spielerei"; but Professor Schultze offers us no theory to take its place, nor does he explain the well-known reference in the Sibylline verses (viii. 212), nor the Autun acrostic (*Ann. de phil. chrétienne*, *2nd ser.*, xix. 195). The following chapter, devoted to illuminated manuscripts,

is somewhat disappointing, as it consists rather of descriptions of isolated examples than of an account of underlying principles. Fuller and more interesting than its two predecessors is the chapter on mosaic, of which method of decoration the southern churches offer such rich examples. A large number of specimens are described, and there is a fair selection of illustrations of different types. In a miscellaneous chapter concluding this portion Professor Schultze discusses the mural decoration of the private houses of Christians, and the portraits of deceased Egyptians painted on their mummy cases. Professor Schultze appears to be aware of only two of these substitutes for the carved face of the earlier coffin-case, namely, a man and wife whose mummies are now preserved at Boulaq; but there are at least two more examples in the British Museum.

The treatment of sculpture, in Section III., is similar to that of painting. The subject is divided into sepulchral reliefs (subdivided into sculptured sarcophagi and stelae with graffiti, sculptures, or inscriptions), diptychs, miscellaneous sculptured objects (as capsae, pyxes, &c), and statuary, each branch being very fully illustrated. Small objects, as lamps, ampullae, rings, and various kinds of glass-ware occupy the fourth section. Here, too, there is a large muster of specimens, and a useful table of inscriptions and symbols found upon lamps, classified under different heads. Professor Schultze claims that this latter list (which contains twenty-six entries), while not necessarily complete, is the fullest which has yet appeared.

The most interesting section is the fifth and last, dealing with Iconography. After a few general introductory remarks, Professor Schultze considers the various sources which inspired the artist with subjects—the Scriptures, legends of saints, &c.—emphasising the while the fact that the purely decorative elements are entirely traceable to the ancient art. He then proceeds to a discussion of the persons and scenes represented in early Christian works of art. The first chapter of this discussion is devoted to a history of the representations of the Persons of the Trinity. The author traces the steps by which the artists emancipated themselves from the shrinking, felt in the earlier, purer days of the Church, from representing the Father in bodily form. He then proceeds to describe the representations of the Son, naturally the fullest subdivision of this part of the subject. The first group of these representations consists of the few portrayals of the pre-existing Christ. Then come those which represent scenes in His human life—the Nativity and scenes in the Childhood: the Baptism, the Miracles, and the Passion. Under the latter heading Professor Schultze refers to the coarse caricature of Alexamenos: this he interprets in the straightforward

manner, as Garrucci has done, and does not follow some writers in endeavouring to explain it away as a piece of Gnostic symbolism. Selected representations of the Resurrection, Ascension, Exaltation, and the Last Judgment are then described; following this is a valuable dissertation on the portrait of Christ. The conventional bearded portrait Professor Schultze dates from the fifth century, and shows that two types preceded it. The earlier he regards as derived from an Apollo, the later from an Æsculapius type; but he does not explain the universal agreement upon the later type almost immediately after its introduction. It is a very singular fact that the same ideal type prevails from the fifth century onwards throughout the whole Church, from Constantinople to the remote cemeteries of Ireland, such as that of Killeen Cormaic in Kildare. Notes on the attributes of Christ (with special attention to the nimbus) and to His symbols (the fish, chrisma, &c.) conclude the subdivision relating to the Divine Son. Brief notes on the representation of the Holy Spirit (always typified as a dove) and the Holy Trinity conclude this chapter.

The next chapter relates to representations of Angels, Daemons, and Death. The development of the first Christian conception of the angel—founded on Old Testament scenes and descriptions—as a strong man, bearded, and rather forbidding, into the youthful, winged type with which we are all familiar, is traced and illustrated by the quotation of a series of examples. Professor Schultze states that, though demoniacal figures are introduced into representations of the healing of those possessed, no figure of Satan is to be found in early Christian art, if we except the serpent in representations of the Fall. He has apparently forgotten the picture in the Book of Kells and the Vatican bronze figured by Didron (*Ann. archéol.*, v. 2). With only one exception, Death is always represented in the classic guise of a genius with inverted torch.

Space will not permit us to enter at length into the other chapters of this article on Early Christian Iconography. Let it suffice to say that portrayals of Apostles, Evangelists, and Saints, scenes of varied character in human life, and the personification of natural features, are in turn fully treated. There is a fair number of illustrations, though some are not very good. For instance, we might easily find a better representation of the well-known Justinian mosaic in St Vitale at Ravenna. We are also sorry to notice that to this section the author has not, as elsewhere, prefixed a bibliography.

In conclusion, this work may be confidently recommended to those who are entering upon the subject, and who have the advantage of knowing German. But it is by no means beneath the notice of those who are already well versed in the subject. To

none but the highest authorities could the enormous number of illustrative examples quoted, the full references, and the useful bibliographies, fail to be of value.

R. A. STEWART MACALISTER.

Greifswalder Studien.

Theologische Abhandlungen. Hermann Cremer, zum 25 jährigen Professoren-jubiläum dargebracht. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1895. 8*vo pp.* 356. *Price, M.*6.

THESE Greifswald Studies in honour of Cremer, in connection with his professorial semi-jubilee, remind one of the volume of theological essays published a few years ago in honour of Weizsäcker. They are, however, of less importance, as well as of diverse theological tendency. The names of the writers are for the most part little known in this country, and the topics are to a considerable extent special points rather than large wide themes. Among the more suggestive and interesting may be mentioned these: "The Acts of the Apostles as a subject of higher and lower criticism," by D. O. Zöckler; "What Paul means by Christian Faith," by Dr Joh. Haussleiter; "Paul's doctrine of Election," by Joh. Dalmer; "The Man from Heaven," by W. Lütgert; "Faith and the Facts," by Ernst Cremer. The paper on "The Man from Heaven" is a discussion on 1 Cor. xv. 47, and the result arrived at is that the expression ἐξ οὐρανοῦ does not point to the *pre-existence* of Christ as a *man* in heaven before He came to this earth, as Baur, Holsten, Biedermann, Pfleiderer, and Weizsäcker suppose, but rather to the supernatural character of His humanity even when He was on earth. "What in its nature is not explicable from this world, what rises above the forces lying in the world, that is from heaven, and has God for its cause." Accordingly the expression ἐξ οὐρανοῦ means that Jesus in His person, His life-work, and His acts was wholly produced by God—not an ordinary man, but altogether supernatural. Cremer's article on "Faith and Facts" is a polemic against the Ritschlian school, in so far as it is chargeable with undervaluing the facts, especially the miraculous facts, in the history of Christ. The contention of the writer is that the miraculous facts, such as the resurrection, are not merely *facts*, but *vital to faith*. He is an orthodox Lutheran, and his watchword is, "back to the Confession of the Fathers," or rather, as he prefers to put it, "forward with the Confession of the Fathers."

A. B. BRUCE.

Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums.

By Dr Carl Mirbt, Ord. Professor der Kirchengeschichte an der Universität, Marburg. Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo*, *pp. xii.* 288. *Price, M.*4.

Dr Carl Mirbt has done all students of Church History a very great service by the publication of these "sources." He has printed all the most important extracts and documents which bear upon the growth of the Papacy from its first obscure beginnings down to the encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII., dated June 20, 1894. It is no longer necessary for the student to hunt up his references laboriously through more than a hundred volumes; he has them all collected for him and published in the best versions, with references to where the texts are to be found. This book, of less than three hundred pages, is a complete library on the growth of the pretensions of the Bishop of Rome.

He begins with the testimonies to the martyrdom of Peter at Rome, and to the universal belief in the presence of Peter there as a teacher and preacher of the Gospel. He then cites the testimonies of such men as Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian to the eminent place and also to the restrictions of the power of the Bishop of Rome in the early centuries. It is sufficient to state that the notable decision of the Emperor Aurelian with regard to the property of Paul of Samosata is included in the list of "Sources," to shew how carefully this has been done.

The canons of the various Councils from Nicea downwards which bear on the position of the Roman bishop are all carefully given; the edicts of the Emperors Theodosius, Valentinian, Honorius, Charles the Great, and Lothar are all to be found in the collection of authorities. The principal documents in the Investiture Controversy, and the most important Bulls and Briefs of Innocent III., are all printed.

Dr Mirbt does not confine himself to the documents which assert or favour the papal pretensions; his aim has evidently been to collect the documents on both sides. Thus, almost immediately after the Bull "Unam Sanctam" of Boniface VIII., we have extracts from the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua; after the Bull of Alexander VI., bestowing the New World on Ferdinand and Isabella, we have Luther's XCV Theses; and after the Bull of Innocent X. against the Jansenists we find the *Declaratio cleri Gallicani* of 1682.

If it is permissible to criticise such a valuable publication I would venture to suggest that it does not sufficiently bring out by documents

the perpetual protest which never altogether failed against the pretension of Rome, even during the Middle Ages. Thus we should have expected some extracts from the anti-papal writings produced by the disputes between Philip the Fair of France and Lewis of Bavaria and the Popes; such as the *Quaestio in utramque partem disputata de potestate regia et pontificali*, the *Disputatio inter militem et clericum super potestatem prelatis ecclesiae atque principibus terraram commissa*, and the *De Monarchia* of Dante. The protests of the Parliament of England in Wiclif's time may be considered too local to find a place, but surely the Statute of Edward III. about *Premunire* and the *Constitutions of Clarendon* ought to have been quoted. We have a right also to expect the *Juramentum Ottonis* and the *Privilegium Ottonis* of date 962, as well as the *Constitutio Romana* of Lothar.

The famous letter of Columbanus to Boniface IV. (*Opera Epist.* I.) denying the jurisdiction of the Pope over all churches beyond the bounds of the empire, ought to have found a place; and that portion of the proceedings of the sixth Œcumenical Council which declared Pope Honorius a heretic.

Dr Mirbt has given five extracts from Cyprian, but he has not printed two very important passages from the fifty-fifth Epistle;—the one in the eighth section where what is required to make a lawful election to the Roman Episcopate is given, and where at the same time the parity of all bishops is implied; and the other in the ninth section, which, in declaring that Decius would rather hear of the revolt of a usurper to the Empire than of the election of a bishop to the See of Rome, gives us an insight into the important place filled by the Bishop of Rome in these very early days.

Dr Mirbt has given us the list of Roman bishops in Irenaeus, but he ought also to have given the double list in Eusebius, and also the *Catalogus Liberianus* as that has been edited by Mommsen (Abhandlungen der philolog.-histor. Classe der koenigl. saechs. Gesellschaften, i. 582-5). It would have helped also to have made this part of the subject clear had we the sentence which Eusebius quotes from Hegesippus to the effect that Anicetas was the immediate predecessor of Soter (Eccl. Hist., iv. 22).

The statement of Hippolytus that Pope Zephyrinus was *ἄνδρα ἰδιωτὴν καὶ ἀγράμματον* (ix. 6, *cf.* 7) should scarcely have been omitted; and when the extracts from Dionysius of Corinth, Caius, and Clement are given in support of the idea that Peter was in Rome, it might have been well to have also cited extracts from the *Acts of St Peter and St Paul*, and the curious passage in Eusebius ii. 14, which tells us that Peter was brought to Rome to refute Simon Magus, who was deceiving multitudes in the imperial city.

T. M. Lindsay.

Die Weissagungen Jesu Christi von Seinem Tode, Seiner Auferstehung und Wiederkunft und ihre Erfüllung.

Von Dr Phil. Paul Schwartzkopff, Professor. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo. pp.* 205. *Price, M.*4.

THE present publication is intended to form the fourth part of a work whose title, when the whole is completed, will be "The Revelation of God in Jesus Christ, its content, its range, its limits." [Die Gottesoffenbarung in Jesu Christo nach Inhalt, Umfang und Grenzen]. The author publishes the last part of the proposed book first because it handles questions of present urgency. In the completed work he will make it his task to discriminate between what belongs to the divine contents of the revelation and what belongs to its human form. And in this first, or last, portion of his book, he examines the predictions of Christ regarding His death, resurrection, and return, in order to ascertain in these particular instances what belongs to the contents and what to the form.

In the investigation of these predictions the author starts from a twofold postulate: the moral perfectness and mental imperfectness, the sinlessness and mental limitations of Jesus. The latter He does not elaborately exhibit or prove, but considers it sufficient merely to point to our Lord's citation of the 110th Psalm as David's, and to His belief in demoniacal possession. A certain limitation of our Lord's view is indicated here, and this limitation may be expected to appear throughout. But it does not invalidate the contents of the revelation. For in regard to its essential contents the revelation is guaranteed by the sinless perfection of Christ's spiritual life. His sinlessness enabled Him to know God and to perceive the horror of sin; and, recognising that men in general were in want of that very love of God which was the joy of His own life, He could not but make it the task of His life, to bring them into the fellowship of God's love. The concrete forms of His teaching—the Kingdom of God and so forth—were derived from the conditions in which he lived; but the essence of His teaching sprang directly from His own sinless consciousness.

Starting with these guiding ideas Professor Schwartzkopff enters upon the examination of the reported predictions by Jesus. His method is not so much exegetical as critical, and his criticism is almost entirely psychological. What is inconsistent with the moral perfectness or mental limitations of Jesus he rejects as impossible. What is consistent with this double aspect of the humanity of Christ he admits. Thus, in connection with the prediction of His death,

Schwartzkopff finds that Jesus could not foresee it from the beginning of His ministry, although from the first He counted on a hard struggle. But as the Old Testament "knew nothing of the Messiah's death," it was only when He recognised the wicked obstinacy of the Pharisees that He felt sure that they would carry their hostility to the utmost, and saw that His death was probable. The author traces with great care the growth of this hostility and the consequent conviction on the part of Jesus. But it was as a religious condition that the necessity of His death was finally borne in upon His mind, and this was the experience He passed through at Cæsarea Philippi. Anxiously His heart asked God whether only by giving Himself to death the salvation of men could be accomplished, and the divine answer came in the strongest affirmative. He knew that man's salvation consisted in his loving God, and that this love could only spring from the sense of God's love. He knew also that in order to produce this sense of God's love the utmost possible manifestation of it must be made—that is, He must yield Himself to death. His forecast of death was thus an essential part of His Messianic consciousness, and is therefore to be accepted.

Very interesting and acute is Professor Schwartzkopff's investigation of the prediction of resurrection. This also he holds to be psychologically assured; because Jesus, being conscious that He was bound in closest love to the God of His life, must have felt sure that the death He looked forward to could not sever that connection. His life rooted in God could not be destroyed by death, but must persist through it. He could not believe in His death without also believing in His resurrection. And this belief He could not but utter to His disciples to arm them against the hopelessness which His death would otherwise have induced. The essential contents and religious value of this belief and of all belief in the resurrection of Christ, consist not in the exact period of three days, for that only means any short time, nor in the bodily visibility of the risen Lord, but in the living presence of the Christ at God's right hand in the place of spiritual supremacy. This was what is valid and to be relied upon in the prediction. It is this which is guaranteed by the existence of Christianity. While this remains, accidental features of the prediction may be questioned. It may, for example, be questioned whether the grave was emptied, or with what body Christ appeared. He expected to pass immediately to Paradise from the Cross, so that, to all appearance, His passing to God and the place of power was not dependent on the rising of His body from the grave. The Resurrection must rather be thought of as His equipment with a *glorified* body to administer and consummate His Kingdom. But one feature of the appearances after the Resurrection is not to be questioned, and that is, the objectivity of these appearances.

Whether they were bodily and visible to every ordinary eye may be questioned, but that they were objective cannot be doubted, because only by the action of God on the human spirit can faith in the risen Lord arise. To say that the Church would be founded on a delusion if the appearances of Christ were visions would only be true if these visions were subjective, not objective. The disciples supposed they saw the body of Christ risen, but to contend that without an actual bodily appearance the Church could not have been founded, is to overrate the historical importance of the form, and to underrate its religious contents.

The essential contents of Christ's prediction of His return are also psychologically guaranteed. Jesus was conscious that the consummation of the Kingdom of God was indissolubly bound up with His presence and energy. And as this Kingdom was to find on earth, perhaps a glorified earth, its sphere and its maturest development and destiny, Christ's return to earth was needful. This is the religious kernel of the belief. As to the rest, the precise time and form of the coming, this is non-essential, and belongs merely to the husk. If error crept in here, and if the general belief of the Primitive Church, that Christ would return shortly, is to be traced to utterances of Jesus which conveyed this meaning, this does not damage the religious value of the expectation that Christ would return. One thing may be held as certain regarding the accompaniments of Christ's return (that is, regarding His coming in the clouds, and with the angels), that they were foretold not in any spirit of self-exultation and vain enthusiasm, but either as the adoption of Old Testament figure or the direct result of His perception of the glory of God in the consummation of the Kingdom, and His desire worthily to impress that glory on the minds of men.

Professor Schwartzkopff's essay deserves ample recognition as an honest, reverential, and able attempt to solve one of the most difficult problems connected with the Person and Work of Christ. There is no critical or theological question that presses more urgently for an answer than this: Do the necessary human limitations of Christ's mental view interfere with the authoritativeness and truth of His revelation? If He was not liable to error, then He was not human; but if He was liable to such error as invalidates His revelation, than He was sent in vain. What is the middle position which at once admits what is demanded by His true humanity, and yet secures His revelation as true? This is the task to which Professor Schwartzkopff gives himself, and in the pursuance of which he has produced a book blossoming on every page with suggestions, and worthy of the most serious study of theologians. His method is perhaps too exclusively psychological, but this dominant fashion in German criticism is a healthy reaction, and full of good fruit.

Its defects are apparent in the present volume. The author seeks to make good not all that criticism can prove to be actual and historical, but only what is psychologically determinable. Necessarily much is left out in his results, and some points seem misrepresented. For example, although the bodily appearance of Christ after the resurrection is not essential to the belief in Him as alive and supreme, yet the question remains, Was it actual? This question scarcely gets a fair answer under our author's method. Psychological congruity is an admirable handmaid to exegesis. As supplementary, it does excellent service, but here it is too exclusively used.

The results obtained are certainly conservative. They increase the solidity of the base on which rests what is essential in the revelation made by Christ. In other hands, no doubt, results of a different kind might be reached. But difference of opinion must needs arise, and the individual cannot reasonably complain that he is thrown upon his own judgment. As already said, it may be questioned whether Professor Schwartzkopff does not give up more than is necessary, and it is not to be expected that his interpretation of our Lord's anticipation of His return will be universally accepted; but every one interested in the great questions here dealt with will gladly acknowledge that they are touched with delicate insight and discernment, and that he has shown the way in the attempt to discriminate between the essential and the non-essential, the kernel and the husk. A remarkable omission in the book is the absence of any attempt to estimate the effect of the Divine Spirit in the enlightenment of the mind of our Lord.

MARCUS DODS.

Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung des Judenthums, des neuen Testaments, und der alten Kirche.

Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung der Apocalypse. Von Lic. theol. Wilhelm Bousset, Privatdozenten in Göttingen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo.* *Price,* 4*s.* 6*d.*

IN this acute and learned essay Herr Bousset furnishes us with new material, and sets us on quite a new stand-point for the interpretation of Apocalyptic literature, and especially of some parts of the book of *Revelation.* He is frank and cordial in his acknowledgments of indebtedness to those who have preceded him in this department of study and suggested to him lines of research. He mentions especially Iselin's article on the Apocalypse as compared

with the late Syriac Ezra; Bratke's essay on the Arabo-Ethiopic Petrine Apocalypse; Corrodi's History of Chiliasm; and Professors Bonwetsch and Meyer. To Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* he feels himself so much indebted that he might, he says, almost call his work "a modest continuation" of that very original work. Yet in many points he differs in opinion from Gunkel, and is himself entirely independent both in his researches and in his conclusions.

Herr Bousset's present treatise originated in his desire to furnish a comprehensive account of the Eschatology of the Christian Church —a desire which his readers are glad to learn he still cherishes. Certainly the necessity of understanding the references to Antichrist lie on the threshold of such an enquiry. Not only does this mysterious and Protean figure present himself in each of the leading sections of New Testament literature, but he is never absent from the eschatological outlook of the patristric and mediæval writers. But an examination of the long series of documents in which Antichrist is mentioned, has disclosed to Herr Bousset this significant fact, that the later writers are not merely embellishing the features of his person and career which are described in the New Testament, but that they write from knowledge independent of the canonical Scriptures, and probably largely derived from esoteric oral tradition. And the significance of this fresh treatment of the subject largely consists in this, that it establishes the existence of a legend of Antichrist, existing from pre-Christian times and probably running back even into the old Babylonian Dragon-myth.

To trace this Antichrist legend back to its original, and to discover in what features it is derived from that most primitive of myths, is, however, not Herr Bousset's aim. He very wisely declines to entangle an already sufficiently complicated subject with one still more recondite and complex. Abstaining therefore from much allusion to the Babylonian Dragon, and from attempting definitely to ascertain its relation to the Antichrist, he contents himself with merely showing that the probabilities are strongly in favour of their relation, and makes it his chief aim to gather up from extant patristic and mediæval literature the various elements of the legend, and to prove that as an independent tradition it antedates the Christian era.

Herr Bousset's book is divided into two parts; in the former of which he gives a full and critical account of the literature, and in the latter brings together from that literature feature after feature of the Antichrist. The mere mustering of the documents in which Antichrist is depicted sufficiently demonstrates the part he has played in the Church's Eschatology; and the recondite character of some of these sources, and the skill with which their inter-relations are treated exhibit the scholarship of Herr Bousset in the most

favourable light. In the second part of his treatise he will probably carry his readers with him to the conviction that there is an Antichrist legend independent of the New Testament. Certainly there are features in it, recurring with considerable frequency in the writers quoted, which find no point of attachment to the account given by St Paul, St John, or our Lord Himself. No doubt this point requires to be more fully elaborated. If the legend is pre-Christian, then traces of it will necessarily appear in other Jewish Apocalypses besides that of Daniel; and the precise alteration which the advent of the Messiah wrought in the anti-Messiah legend is of importance. Still it is difficult to resist the main conclusion to which Herr Bousset wishes to lead us, that the elements entering into the allusions to Antichrist in the New Testament all belong to the common extra-canonical tradition or legend which persisted through many centuries of Christian history.

The bearing of this conclusion on the interpretation of the Johannine *Revelation*, the passage in 2 *Thess.* regarding the Man of Sin, and the Eschatological Discourse of our Lord is obvious. The law laid down by Gunkel that the individual writer of our Apocalypse does not invent his material, but merely adapts and implies it becomes at once intelligible and significant. Of course each writer has a purpose in view; and, even when using material already provided and laid to his hand by common tradition, he will probably let this purpose be seen by the emphasis he lays on certain features of the well-known picture or by his omissions. But certainly there can be no valid interpretation of any apocalypse until we are able to discriminate between what the writer has borrowed from the common stock and what is peculiar to himself. Hence all previous methods of interpretation have necessarily come to grief. That which depends solely on fitting all allusions found in each passage to some figure in contemporary history fails by neglecting to observe that most of these allusions form part of the normal picture of Antichrist which is handed on from age to age. To divide up the Apocalypse and apportion this verse to one source and that to another is liable to error, until the critic has compared the text with those references to the legend which are so extensively found in Christian literature. The labour and sagacity required for the task of discriminating between the common tradition and the allusions in the Johannine Apocalypse are indeed so great that Herr Bousset does not scruple to say that for a long time to come the exposition of the Apocalypse will surpass the powers of any single interpreter.

To interpret the book of *Revelation* was no part of Herr Bousset's purpose, and he gives us only a hint or two of the manner in which his work may be employed as a key to unlock the hidden meanings

of this obscurest of writings. In the 12th chapter he says we have the old Dragon-myth, in the second part of the 13th chapter we have the Antichrist-Saga, and in the first part of the same chapter its political application. "The three changing forms of the Saga have become three figures standing alongside of one another in a great eschatological picture: the Dragon, the Beast, the False Prophet." Unquestionably, however, this remarkable investigation of the Antichrist legend must mark a new epoch in the interpretation of the Johannine Apocalypse and the other eschatological references of the New Testament.

It may be added that Mr A. H. Keane, F.R.G.S., has furnished the English reader with a translation of Herr Bousset's valuable work. It is published by Messrs Hutchinson & Co., and is entitled *The Antichrist Legend.* This English edition has some advantages over the original. It is furnished with a much fuller Index, and with a preliminary essay by Mr Keane on the Dragon-myth which helps to make the whole treatise more intelligible and is itself interesting. It also gives the passages from Greek and Latin writers in English, relegating the originals to an Appendix. The translation is on the whole excellent, although the translator has nodded at pp. 13, 20, and 124. MARCUS DODS.

Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums.

Von Friedrich Spitta. Zweiter Band. Der Brief des Jacobus; Studien zum Hirten des Hermas. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1896. 8*vo*, *pp. vi.* 437. *Price, M.*10.

IN the first part of this volume the author works out the thesis that the Epistle of James is a purely Jewish work from beginning to end, which was adopted by the Christians but altered in no appreciable respects, excepting by the insertion of the name of Christ in two places. The argument is two-fold, first tending to shew the absence of specifically Christian elements in the Epistle, and, secondly, pointing out parallels between every item in the Epistle and corresponding statements in recognised Jewish Literature. The initial step is to dispose of the two passages in which alone it is allowed that there is anything specifically Christian, viz.—I. 1, and II. 1. We are reminded that it only requires a glance at the commentaries to see that the expression *τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης* is a *crux interpretum.* The phrases *ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης* (Psalm xxix., lxx., xxviii.), and

ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης (Psalm xxiv., lxx., xxiii.), would suggest ready analogies for the abbreviated phrase that would remain, if the words ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ were regarded as an interpolation; and in this case there would be no difficulty in interpreting the clause. Spitta points out that the reference in the immediately preceding verse to widows and fatherless children rather prepares us for the mention of God, who is specially named in the Old Testament as caring for such. After he has thus disposed of one of the two Christian passages by shewing that the sentence in which it occurs can be more smoothly translated when it has been cut out, he can deal with the other the more boldly, although here no difficulty is suggested by the full text as it now stands. The title δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ is one of frequent occurrence in the Old Testament (*e.g.* 1 Chron. vi. 49; Isa. xlii. 19; Dan. iii. 26; vi. 20; ix. 11). Having got the two evidently Christian expressions out of the way as interpolations, Spitta proceeds to prove that "our letter in no respects rises above pre-Christian Hellenic literature." In order to demonstrate this position he enters upon an elaborate exposition of the work, going over it phrase by phrase, and adducing in every case parallel passages from the Old Testament or from non-canonical Jewish literature. This part of the treatise brings before us the fruits of wide research in regions rarely visited by the New Testament expositor. Even if the specific hypothesis it is designed to establish is not accepted, a solid piece of original work such as this is must prove to be of permanent value for a right understanding of the Epistle. It is one illustration of the light that may be thrown on the New Testament from the study of Jewish, and especially of nearly contemporary Jewish, literature. The commentator has been accustomed to look for analogies and explanations in the classics; he would find a more fruitful field if he would turn his attention to the till recently much neglected literature which sprang up on the very soil where the books he is studying had their origin, about the same time, and among the people of the same race and original religion as are represented by his authors.

To the reader accustomed to the Christian interpretation of the Epistle of St James there are many passages besides the two mentioning the name of Christ, which appear to indicate ideas that had their origin in the teaching of Christ and the Apostles. One of these is i. 18, which seems to point to the new birth brought about by means of the preaching of the Gospel. Spitta applies it to the creation of man, "the word of truth" being the creative word of which we read in Genesis. This phrase itself has abundant analogies in Jewish literature; and the previous verse, referring to God as "the Father of lights," seems to direct attention to the

creation of the sun and moon and stars. For mankind as the first fruits of creation we are referred to several Jewish analogies (*e.g.* Jubil. v. 3; Wisd. xiv. 11; Ecclus. xxxvi. 20; Aseneth. xii.). These passages, however, it is to be noted, none of them include the peculiar word ἀπαρχή, which so specifically links itself on to Christian associations. In i. 20 the expression ὀργὴ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς δικαιοσύνην θεοῦ οὐκ ἐργάζεται, which inculcates the peculiarly Christian duty of meekness, is matched with a parallel from Ecclus. i. 22 as well as more remote resemblances in Prov. xv. 1; xvi. 32. "The perfect law of liberty" is taken to be simply the ancient Hebrew *Torah*, venerated of all Jews. The two attributes which appear to point to the Christian law are both explained from Jewish analogy. The law is described as "perfect" in Psalm xviii. 7. For the attribute of *liberty*, apparently so peculiarly Christian, we have parallels in 4 Macc. v. 24-26, as well as several in Philo, the *Pirkè Aboth*, &c. It is difficult to appreciate an argument of this sort, one on the method of what Mill calls "simple induction," without going carefully through the whole of it; but any impartial reader who will take the trouble to do so must feel its growing weight, as item by item it is slowly piled up. It cannot be doubted that certain passages are very difficult to reconcile with the idea of the Epistle being addressed simply to the members of a Christian Church. The opening verses of the fifth chapter, for example, "Go too now ye rich, weep and howl for your miseries," &c., are not to be readily interpreted with reference to Christian people. But then it is almost equally difficult to apply them to Jews, elsewhere addressed by the writer of the Epistle as "beloved brethren." Spitta remarks that the author may mean persons who were not Jews, but who were in attendance at the synagogue. Of course this line of explanation is equally easy to employ in the case of the Christian interpretation of the Epistle.

Spitta follows his exposition of the Epistle by an inquiry into its apparent relations with various books of the New Testament, and more especially with the Gospels. It has often been pointed out that St James's Epistle contains more echoes of the teaching of Christ recorded in the Synoptics than any other New Testament book. This point has been strongly insisted on by Beyschlag. Some have seen here a direct dependence on the Synoptics. Resch attributes the resemblances to a common use of a pre-canonical, primitive Gospel document. On the hypothesis that the Epistle was written in the earliest times a common oral tradition of the teachings might cover the references to the teachings of Jesus, if such there are. They are in no case given as acknowledged quotations—a point which may be seized as making for Spitta's theory. In taking up the instances *seriatim* Spitta follows the method pursued in the

exposition—finding analogies for the supposed citations from the teachings of our Lord in the various pre-Christian writings. An interest of a special kind arises in considering the relation of the Epistle of St James to the Pauline epistles. It is now generally recognised that our Epistle must either be assigned to a very early date or to a quite late date—at one or other of two points of time which stand almost a century apart, on account of its peculiar treatment of the question of justification. It could not have been written in the midst of St Paul's great controversy with the Judaising Christians. A strong current of opinion has long run in favour of the late date, partly on the assumption that the author was well acquainted with the Pauline epistles. Spitta's arguments go far to shew that this was not the case, and therefore if the Christian character of the book can still be maintained they will tend to help those who, like Mr Mayor in his excellent commentary, contend for the very early date of the epistle.

Nevertheless, when we have reached the end of the whole argument, it is difficult to escape from the conclusion that it is a most elaborate fallacy. The Jewish resemblances are demonstrated, that must be granted; but what do they amount to? In many cases we are simply referred to the Old Testament. But has it not been held by the student of the origins of Christianity that there is a continuity between the two parts of the Bible? Throughout the whole of the New Testament we meet with appeals to the Old Testament as to an inspired authority, although more so in some books than in others. All that we know of St James points to him as a Christian of strong Jewish sympathies, so that we should be prepared to find an especially free resort to the teachings of his people in this work, if it could be proved to have emanated from the head of the Jerusalem church. When we find phrases which seem to be echoes of the teaching of Jesus Christ matched with fragments of Jewish literature, it may be well to remember that our Lord was a Jew by birth, and that His teaching, even where it is most strikingly original, is cast in the mould of Jewish thought. If these ideas and phrases found both in the Epistle of St James and in the Gospels can be paralleled from Jewish literature, is it not equally reasonable to predicate the connection in the latter case as in the former? But if this is done the paradox at once becomes apparent; for it can scarcely be argued that the sayings ascribed to our Lord are no more than a patchwork of shreds and scraps of Hebrew literature.

The mistake is to imagine we have explained a work when we have linked each of its minutest details to similar details in earlier works. We have yet to account for the building up of the whole, and to appreciate the spirit that pervades it. Where is to be found

the book in later Jewish literature that can be paired with the Epistle of St James in spirit and character? This literature is characterised by puerility of thought and extragavance of language. One of the common objections to our epistle is that it is written in too good Greek to be ascribed to a native of Nazareth; and, over and above the charm of its style, the vigour and freshness of its thought mark it out in sharp contrast with the scholastic aridity into which the later Jewish literature had degenerated. A much more important consideration is that nothing narrow, nothing low, nothing unworthy of Christianity is to be found here, although the Jewish literature with which it is compared abounds in elements of an inferior character. We have not only to account for the presence of the gems of Jewish thought; we have also to explain the total absence of the defects of the Jewish writings, and the dreary commonplaces in which, unfortunately, they so largely consist. This negative difference between the epistle and the works to which it is traced is never once alluded to by Spitta! We may compare the case with that of the "Lord's prayer"; phrase by phrase, this has been matched in fragments of Jewish literature; yet, who can deny the incomparable greatness and consequent originality of the prayer as a whole? To put it another way, the Epistle of St James shares in that unique elevation of character which marks the New Testament writings, and which is commonly taken as a sign of their inspiration. Lastly, it is to be noted that there is nothing in the Epistle that really conflicts with Christian ideas, although it may not be easy to reconcile all its contents with Paulinism. Here, however, it may be remarked in passing, that extreme disciples of the Tübingen school have rejected the Epistle as not St James's, for the express reason that it approaches too near the teachings of St Paul to be the work of the leader of the Jewish Christians,—a position at the opposite pole from Spitta's. The two are mutually destructive. Whatever may be said on the question of Paulinism, who that reads the Epistle throughout, gathers the total impression of its teaching, and perceives the spirit that breathes through it, can deny that the Christianity of Christ is here represented with singular purity and vigour?

In the second part of his treatise Spitta examines the character of the *Shepherd of Hermas* with a view to discovering the secret of its composition. He holds that this was originally a Jewish work to which very considerable additions have been made by a Christian writer. He finds no reason to contradict the statement, derived from the Muratorian canon and the *Catalogus Liberianus*, that the writer was Hermas, the brother of Pius, bishop of Rome in the middle of the second century, if this is simply applied to the later Christian hand—not to the first author. The first step is to

shew that the work has been tampered with at all. This is done by pointing out what seems to be a serious disarrangement of its several parts. The very opening words hardly read like the beginning of a book. We look for some explanation in the introduction of the characters; this Spitta thinks has been lost. Elsewhere the order seems to be inappropriate. In examining the contents of the work, Spitta seeks to recover the original Jewish writing, and to detach this from the Christian additions. He begins with the fifth Similitude. In chapter iv. Hermas presses for an explanation of the parable, although one was given in the previous chapter. The explanations given in chapters v. and vi. is inconsistent with what had been already stated, and therefore according to Spitta could not have come from the hand of the writer of the original description of the Similitude. Hermas is found fasting. This is not enough unless he adds good deeds. The parable illustrates the lesson. A servant is left in charge of a vineyard to fence it and do nothing more. He not only does this, but also weeds it. On his return the owner is so pleased that not merely does he grant the servant the freedom which he had promised as the reward of the faithful discharge of his task, he makes him joint-heir with his son, &c. This is applied to the case of fasting with the addition of good works, and the whole is complete, hanging well together. Then comes Hermas's second request for an explanation, which is followed by a totally new course of ideas. Now the Son appears as the Holy Spirit, and the servant is Christ who for His works of supererogation is exalted to the honour of Divine Sonship—the adoptionism which Harnack holds to be the Christology of Hermas (see *Dogmengeschichte* I., page 160). This want of connection had been pointed out by Zahn, who nevertheless had maintained the unity of the book. But even taking the first part by itself, has not the parable of the vineyard a very Christian character? So that if there were two writers, might not each have been Christian? But when we come to that, would it not be simpler to suppose that there is but one writer who adds the second explanation as an afterthought? It must be confessed that if we read the book as a unity it does appear to be singularly involved and confused in several places. But allegory is an awkward instrument to handle, and if Hermas wrote the whole book he is not to be reckoned as the only allegorist who has got entangled in the meshes of his own imagery. Spitta, however, follows up his case through the entire work, separating the Jewish original from the Christian additions all along. The following are his conclusions:—The two first Visions are scarcely touched by the hand of the interpolator. Similitudes I., II., III., IV., VII., and X. are also practically untouched, and there are very few insertions in

Similitude VI. On the other hand, Visions III., IV., and Similitudes V., VIII., and IX. have been very much worked over. The case for the purely Jewish character of the unaltered portions of the book is not without grave difficulties. For example the "Church" is prominent even here. This with Spitta becomes simply the "Jewish community," taken in an ideal sense—not a very readily grasped idea. Spitta concludes by examining the relation of the *Shepherd* to New Testament books. The greatest resemblance is in the case of the Epistle of St James. The decision is that neither work is dependent on the other, the striking likeness being accounted for by their common Jewish origin, and their common relation to earlier Jewish literature. Whatever conclusions we may come to on the main argument of the book—and probably to most readers it will appear that the case is not proven—it cannot be denied that we have here a most valuable analysis of the patristic work, and that set in quite a fresh light. WALTER F. ADENEY.

History of Christian Doctrine.

By George Park Fisher, D.D., LL.D., Yale University. International Theological Library. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896. *Large 8vo, pp.* 583. *Price,* 12*s.*

FEW that know anything of the present state of theological studies will question the clamant need for such a volume as this which now comes to us through the medium of the "International Theological Library" from the practised pen of Professor Fisher of Yale. It is a truism to say that theology can only be profitably studied in the light of its history; that a knowledge of the process of dogmas in the making is indispensable to the comprehension of dogmas as made; yet the marvellous fact remains that we have not a single book in English to which the student can turn for efficient and satisfactory guidance in this important field. Shedd's "History of Christian Doctrine," never very reliable, is out of date; the ordinary text-books on Church History do not give a connected view, and are otherwise inadequate; German works are inaccessible to most; and translations, however excellent, can never be quite divested of their foreign character. Professor Fisher is thus in the happy position of having the field in Britain and America practically to himself. It may be said at once that his volume worthily occupies it. This was only to be anticipated from his long-continued preparatory studies, and from the minute familiarity with every portion of the history of the Church, and of its literature, displayed in his previous valuable works. To write a history of Christian doctrine which

shall preserve unbroken the threads of development through nineteen centuries of perpetual change and unprecedented human progress would be a staggering task to any one less perfectly equipped. Few could have attempted it; perhaps none would have accomplished it with equal success. For the task which Professor Fisher sets before himself is somewhat different from that of writers like Harnack in his well-known "History of Dogma"—both narrower and wider. His business is not that of the pathfinder, or original explorer; on the other hand, he does not confine himself to tracing the history of "dogma" in the stricter sense—meaning by that "the interpretations of Christianity which have been cast in an explicit form, and have been raised to the rank of doctrinal standards and tests" (p. 2), but would unroll before us the whole vast map of the development of theological thinking in ancient, mediæval, and modern times, including in the wide compass of his sketch notices of the men, movements, schools, parties, theories, controversies, of every age, that have had any considerable influence in shaping the thoughts of mankind upon the faith. It says much for Professor Fisher's skill of arrangement and presentation that, with so immense a plan in hand, he does not permit its magnitude to overwhelm him, but succeeds in placing before the reader a clear, readable, well-proportioned, and, regarding it as a whole, remarkably just and accurate account of what the course of the development of doctrine throughout the ages, and in different countries, has been.

The difficulties which inhere in so comprehensive an undertaking should abate the zeal of the critic to fasten on what he may fancy are flaws or blemishes in the work; and a pretty careful perusal has convinced the present writer that these flaws are few in comparison with the excellencies. One thing which must impress the most cursory reader is that the author knows his subject thoroughly, and is entirely up to date. This is specially obvious in the earlier part, where the newest lights are discriminatingly followed in the treatment of the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, and the Fathers of the old Catholic Church. The fluency of the author's style, and the rapidity with which he is compelled to glide on with but slight reference to a number of important topics is apt to give one a misleading sense of superficiality. This will be corrected when it is discovered, as it will be with increasing knowledge, that the most summary of these passages nearly always hits the mark of an accurate statement, and gives a just verdict on men and things, such as only a ripe acquaintance with the subject could supply. A further merit of the book is its singular freedom from bias or prejudice; we are unable to point to any passage of which it can be fairly said that the author has allowed his personal theological

leanings to colour his exposition or warp his judgment. The one thing aimed at throughout is to furnish a perfectly objective presentation of the course of the development of opinion on doctrine; even appraisement or criticism of the author's own is allowed to mingle very sparingly with the uniform flow of the narration. On the other hand, it is to be conceded that the work is not without certain drawbacks which can best be described as the defects of its qualities. It is a marvel of comprehensiveness, but the desire to embrace everything within the limits of a moderately-sized volume has obviously its disadvantages, and it may be doubted whether more would not have been gained by dropping subsidiary matters and concentrating attention on the greater men and systems, with a view to a fuller exposition of these than is here possible. Drawbacks, again, result from the necessity the writer is under of producing a spirited, readable sketch of the history of doctrine for general use, where one would desiderate a treatment entering more deeply into the interior of systems, and doing ampler justice to their genetic development, and the ramifications of their ideas. In its succession of crisp, short, luminous sentences, Professor Fisher's style flows evenly on with hardly a break; but just for this reason it does not always leave upon the mind as incisive and abiding an impression as might be desired. It is clear and easy reading, but everything, we sometimes feel, is too much on a plane, the central and essential with the secondary and derivative, and the total conception is correspondingly general. Slight exception, also, might occasionally be taken—though only occasionally—to the author's sense of perspective. We fully agree, for example, with Professor Fisher in his exceptionally high estimate of Jonathan Edwards as a theologian, but this scarcely warrants the devotion to this distinguished man of a larger proportion of space than is given, say, to Calvin or Schleiermacher, both of whom have also chapters allotted to them, —or, in fact, to almost any individual in the book, except perhaps Augustine. At the same time, the chapter on the "New England" school of theology will be felt to have a special informatory value for us on this side of the Atlantic.

The general plan of the volume we have sought thus inadequately to characterise is determined by the order of the subject. An introductory section deals, among other questions, with the possibility of theology, and its relations to faith and to philosophy. Newman's doctrine of development is touched upon in passing, and is shown to be wrecked on the assumption of an infallible authority to discriminate between what are sound developments and what are not. In dealing with methods, the author wisely indicates his preference for what he calls, after Ritschl, the "organic or physio-

logical" method, as distinguished from the "anatomic," which divides out the treatment under the headings of the special doctrines. Then comes the general division into Ancient, Mediæval and Modern Periods, and these are sub-divided, as the work proceeds, into minor periods and chapters. A curious thing is that under the second division of Modern Theology, the table of Contents stops short with Chap. V., on "Certain Theological Tendencies in Recent Times," while the body of the work, better than the promise, interpolates Chaps. V.-IX. on recent German and Catholic theology, previously altogether omitted, and relegates the older Chap. V. to the position of Chap. X. This is a most important and valuable modification, and without it the book would have been glaringly incomplete. Of the three periods named, the earliest, in its pre-Arian and post-Arian divisions, occupies fully a third of the volume; the mediæval period is more briefly handled; while the age succeeding the Reformation, with its surpassing wealth of theological development, has proportionately larger space allotted to it. It would be tedious to go into details, or minute discussion of the author's positions, even where one happens to disagree with him, and only the most general survey of the greater divisions will be attempted.

The outstanding fact of the earliest age is the rise of the Old Catholic Church, partly as a result of internal development, and a loss of the purely Pauline conception of faith and grace, and partly as the product of resistance to Gnosticism and Montanism. Theology, no doubt, had its independent roots, but its life is so intertwined with the general growth, and controlled by the conception of the *fides catholica et apostolica*, that it cannot be separated from it. In his admirable sketch of this period, Professor Fisher places himself in the main under the guidance of the Ritschl-Harnack school, and gives fresh expression to their results. In the chapter on Monarchianism we should have liked had fuller treatment been possible of the system of Sabellius, and perhaps the importance of Paul of Samosata as bringing up the rear of the Monarchian development, and giving final utterance to its logical tendency, is insufficiently appreciated. Origen is well interpreted, as are the Old Catholic Fathers generally, but a word seems due on the bearing of his view of the human soul of Christ as a pre-existent unfallen spirit on his doctrine of the incarnation. Does Origen ever really get beyond a moral union of this pure, personal spirit and the Logos? We could have wished that the vital contrasts of the Alexandrian and Antiochian schools of theology —only briefly glanced at—could have had more stress laid upon them. In the Arian controversy, we doubt the correctness of the representation, though it is a common one, that the middle party,

led by Eusebius of Cæsarea, was the majority in the Council of Nicæa, and that "the Nicene creed was carried in the Council by the pressure of imperial influence, against the judgment and inclination of the major part of that body" (p. 139). The two parts of the representation do not hang well together, for if the party of Eusebius, "whom the Emperor regarded with special honour," was in the ascendant, why should the imperial influence have been thrown into the scale to which that party was opposed? It would be truer to say that it was not the emperor's adhesion which won for the Homoousion its acceptance by the Council, but rather its acceptance by all but the semi-Arian fraction of the Council which determined the Emperor to give it his support as the only formula that had the chance of carrying. The tangle of the Christological controversies is unravelled with as much skill as is practicable in "a bare sketch." The need of such guidance is abundantly apparent when even so good a scholar as Mr F. C. Conybeare can permit himself to fall into the extraordinary confusion of declaring that "Nestorius held that in Christ the divine swallows up and absorbs the human character," and, "holding that Christ's body was freed from the limitations of time and space, was incomprehensible and not to be delineated or in any way imaged, fell into the damnable error of Monophysitism," and can suppose that these were the views opposed by Cyril and condemned in the Council of Ephesus in 431 (in "Religious Systems of the World," 1892, pp. 388-9)! These may be "baneful speculations" and "microscopic errors," but it is at least desirable that their nature should be understood. The Augustinian theology is sympathetically expounded, and Harnack's remark endorsed—"Whoever looks away from the formulas to the spirit will find everywhere in the writings of Augustine a stream of Pauline Faith." But the Augustinian doctrine of predestination is surely relegated to too subordinate a place (pp. 191-2). On the crucial question on which so much has been said by new school theologians of the influence of Greek thought on the formation of Christian dogma in this earlier period, Professor Fisher takes up a mediating, and on the whole, as it seems to us, a well-balanced and sensible position. He grants the reality of the influence,—as what mind can withdraw itself from its intellectual environment, even among theologians of the nineteenth century,—but will not go the length of affirming that the substance as well as the form of Christian theology was essentially modified by the Greek moulds into which the Christian truth was cast. Even respecting Origen he observes that "what is eccentric in his opinions excites attention somewhat more in a brief sketch of his system than in his own more copious exposition," and that "Origen is emphatically a Scriptural theologian" (pp. 105, 113). It will probably be found that in the earnest controversies of the

fourth and fifth centuries it is not the Greek category but the Divine reality which is throughout the controlling factor in the minds of the greater theologians who conducted the Church to its dogmatic issues; and that they were ready at any moment to break up and fling away the former when it became unsuitable for the expression of the latter.

Our space warns us not to dwell on the Mediæval theology, which finds its crowning embodiment in the Scholastic systems, or even at any length on the more tempting Modern movements sketched in the history. These include, in the author's plan, not only theological movements proper (Lutheran and Reformed, Arminianism, the Federal theology, Socinianism, Latitudinarianism in England, etc.) but the developments of philosophy (Locke to Leibnitz, Kant to Hegel, &c.), so far as they affect theology, and religious and ecclesiastical movements like Wesleyanism and Tractarianism, with related tendencies of every kind. The doctrine that rises to new prominence from the days of Anselm is that of the Atonement. Not that this doctrine had not its place also in the earlier teaching. Harnack shows his sound Christian feeling here also in words quoted by Professor Fisher—"That the work of Christ was his achievement, that it culminates in his sacrificial death, that it signifies the vanquishing and efficacy (effacing?) of the guilt of sin, that salvation consequently consists in the forgiveness, the justification, and the adoption of man, are thoughts which in no Church Father are wholly absent. In some they stand out boldly. In the case of most they make their way into the explication of the dogma of redemption" (p. 128). But in Anselm and Aquinas the Atonement becomes the subject of serious theological speculation. The statement in our author is good, though we miss some links in the transition to the fully-developed doctrine of the Reformers. On Locke we would doubt the justness of the observation that he "rejects *à priori* proofs of the being of God" (p. 374). Locke's demonstration is as *à priori* as Clarke's. Socinianism is justly judged in words again borrowed from Harnack. "With the old dogmas, Socinianism has at bottom set aside Christianity as a religion—Guilt and Penitence, Faith and Grace, are conceptions which are only saved by inconsistencies—out of regard to the New Testament—from being wholly eliminated" (p. 325). We raise only one other question—on the subject of Calvinism—to which, throughout his volume, our author endeavours to do scrupulous justice. In speaking of the theology of Edwards, he contrasts it "with the doctrine of Augustine, and the more general doctrine even of Calvinistic theologians, the doctrine of the Westminster Assembly's creeds," that man had originally a liberty of will, or power of contrary choice, which he

lost by the fall; and goes on—"It was the common doctrine, too, that in mankind now, while the will is enslaved as regards religious obedience, it remains free outside out of this province, in all civil and secular concerns. In this wide domain the power of contrary choice still subsists. But Edwards' conception of the will admits of no such distinction. . . . He asserts most emphatically that he holds men to be possessed now of all the liberty which it is possible to imagine, or which it ever entered into the heart of man to conceive." He implies, too, that the Augustinian and Westminster doctrine on this point is different from that of Calvin in his earlier supralapsarian writings. We need not deny that Edwards' doctrine of philosophical necessity was not held by all his predecessors. But if it is meant by the above (1) that in the view of Augustine or of the Westminster Divines there were any free acts —before or after the fall—which were withdrawn from the Divine "foreordination"; or (2) that Augustine's doctrine on freedom, and Calvin's, were not substantially identical; or (3) that Edwards with his doctrine of necessity, did not recognise and emphasise the ordinary distinction of "natural" and "moral" inability, we are compelled very decidedly to dissent.

We would close this imperfect notice by again expressing our high sense of the ability and value of Dr Fisher's work. The slips we have noticed in it are few, and hardly worth pointing out, "Pulcheria," on p. 158, should of course be "Theodora"; "votrefflich" on p. 407, should be "vortrefflich"; "1846" on p. 530, should be "1886"; Aphthardocetœ," on p. 157, should be "Aphartodocetœ," &c. But why should the author designate this sect "Aphartodocetœ," and its opponents "corrupticolœ" (Latinised)? or why write "theotokos" on the one page, and "theotocos" on the next (pp. 152-3)? "One will," on p. 158, should more properly be "one energy." And how should Nathaniel Taylor and Henry B. Smith be *each* the most distinguished member of the New England School after the elder Edwards (pp. 414, 17)?

JAMES ORR.

Kaftan's Balfour's "Einleitung in die Theologie."

Sonderabdruck aus den Preussischen Jahrbüchern herausgegeben von Hans Delbrück.
Preussische Jahrbücher, Decemberheft, 1895. *Price, M.*2.50.

UNDER the above heading Professor Kaftan of Berlin writes a long article on Mr Balfour's "Foundations of Belief." It is throughout laudatory. The prophet, admired as his prophecy is at home (with qualifications and misgivings), has to look for fullest honour be-

yond his own country. Kaftan, indeed, has his criticisms. But the capital fact, explaining his warm appreciation of the volume, is that he finds that, while there is diversity between his own position and Balfour's, in respect, *e.g.*, of their points of departure, the presentation and expression of topics, and some of the results attained, the tendency of the teaching given forth by both writers is the same. As regards the attitude they assume towards the questions treated, the way they take and recommend as the only way leading to the goal, and the temper which governs them in coping with the difficulties that beset the path of the modern apologist of Christianity, they are at one. More particularly, each of them seeks to define the sphere of natural science, and denies its claim to have jurisdiction in philosophy or theology. Each holds that the speculative philosophy of tradition (Transcendentalism), at least as appearing in their respective countries, fails to yield the rich results once expected from it, and that any support now sought from that quarter would prove a weakness. And in casting about for ground on which to carry out their constructive work, each finds it in the region of *Practice*, of men's *Practical Needs*. Other more specific points on which Kaftan sees resemblance of view might be adduced; but let these suffice.

An interesting subject brought up by Kaftan is the fact that the views of each of the two thinkers are held by very many to lead in their logical outcome (however different the intention), to sheer scepticism. In our country it has been said on high authority that the assault on Naturalism in the "Foundations of Belief" indirectly affects science, and strikes at the root of all the commonest beliefs even as regards the world of sense. This, it is further held, gives a handle to scepticism which might easily be used for the overthrow of all religion: make reason untrustworthy, in any of its recognised spheres, and you tend to destroy our confidence in it altogether. And clearly Kaftan, from what he says, has been incessantly plied with the charge of working for scepticism.

In answer to this charge it may be said that science is perfectly well able to take care of itself and its methods against any philosophy whatever. Here the most thorough-going criticism—scepticism if you like—cannot possibly do harm. It actually does a great amount of good. A real service is rendered to genuine science when both writers insist on distinguishing it from science falsely so called—from the extravagances and ill-founded speculations of Naturalism.

But it is said the account given of the Laws of Nature, especially the daring analysis of the august Law of Causation itself, could only be furnished by one who is on the high road to scepticism. Is it, then, really a scientific or philosophic sin to ask what is the

meaning even of the Law of Causality? And if the explanation given of the law is "sceptical," what is the correct explanation? Kaftan has hitherto asked the latter question in vain. He finds that those who differ from him will give no explanation of their own, but "prefer to clasp their hands over their heads and exclaim against the scepticism." Thus far, whatever the truth may ultimately prove to be, he seems to have a real grievance. The position is this:—All hold the principle of Causality. But what is to be said as to its origin and the extent of its validity? Is it a "Minerva born in panoply?" That runs counter to modern ideas of development. If it is said to be a law or principle of higher lineage, standing above experience, independent of it and formative of it, we might ask, What does this "standing above experience," or this independence and sovereign power mean? *Without* the stimulus of experience, where were the law? Then what form does that stimulus take? What is the rationale of the process? There is a clamant need for an exposition of the genesis or Natural History of the idea. Only thus is its true nature and the field of its jurisdiction to be determined. We have to deal with the question of its limits when we come to consider human freedom and the possibility of miracles, and we can have no safe guidance in these matters, nor can we refute those who would apply Causality uniformly to every occurrence in the universe, without knowing the essence of the idea, as we can do only by an analysis of its nature. But as if Causality were too sacred to be touched with profane hands, those on the one side in the controversy will give no theory of it at all. Are they entitled to call an existing theory sceptical when they do not bring forward another which is true, or say precisely wherein the scepticism consists?

But one trembles for the ark of Knowledge. It is said knowledge must be vindicated. Undoubtedly it must. Why not recognize that this is most effectually done by bringing a law to meet experience, a law which is clear, unmistakable, fully-formed, absolute? The reason why, is because on the basis of such law—or laws, for if we get one we get more—there is raised without fail a system of metaphysic mounting up to the high heavens, deducing its propositions by good and necessary inference, "with philosophic rigour," but nevertheless yielding results for the most part as worthless as they are pretentious, and making the modern world almost sick of the very name of philosophy. If the process of building has been carried on with the utmost care by men of consummate ability and even genius, and yet the structure soon totters and falls, how can we avoid the conclusion that the foundation may be insecure, and instead of consisting of rock, may consist of loose sand? A survey of the recent past, with its gigantic

failures, shows how needful it is to test such systems from base to summit, and in particular, instead of regarding the laws or ideas that lie at the foundation as in a manner sacred, to subject them to the hottest fire of criticism. This has to be done, in spite of the strong counteracting power of long-standing custom, in the interest of knowledge itself, in order to distinguish fiction from fact.

The judgment formed regarding the books of the two writers will depend greatly on the conclusion which is arrived at on the fundamental point just treated; and the demand which one of them makes appears a most reasonable one. Then there is a result of more importance still, of more general interest. Theology will be largely affected by the issue. The relation to that discipline of science and philosophy will be very different, according to the alternative followed, and philosophy itself assumes a very different complexion.

Coming to the question of Authority and Reason as treated in the Foundations of Belief, Kaftan considers that Authority here is synonymous with history in the widest sense. It signifies the whole stream of development as converging on the individual. The dependence on authority, then, only amounts to the harmless truth that man is the product of his age, is made by history before being a maker of it. Never indeed, even when he has done his best and weightiest intellectual work, vindicating the while, as he ought to do, the fullest freedom for his subjective reason, does he cease to be in organic connection with history and to be indebted to it in a thousand ways. Standing on this rock of fact, let us see the duty that emerges of enquiring as to the truth or untruth of the Christian religion. Even on a casual view, that religion is the most potent factor of history. It, more than anything, has made all of us what we are. On it, more than anything, believers and unbelievers are dependent in many ways in spite of themselves. It follows that he who would understand himself must endeavour to understand it, and, as it is made by Christ, to understand Him. "Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged." Without pressing all that this Apologetic might be made to yield, we see at once that it strikes effectively at what is at present perhaps the chief danger to religion—the wide-spread indifference to all that concerns Christianity. The intellectual and moral man must as such go on to determine what he thinks of Christ. Another result affects the substance of the Christian faith. The subjectivism that would take one or two principles from our religion, such as faith in God and altruism, supposed to be its permanent elements, and start with them *de novo*, is unwarrantable. We cannot thus break

away from Christian history, or remain tied to it by one or two threads only, however important these may be in themselves. The connection must always continue vital and many-sided. The branch must abide in the Vine. The permanent power in the history is its Founder, who is also its Life. GEORGE FERRIES.

Die Erwählung Israels.

Nach der Heilsverkündigung des Apostels Paulus. Von Johannes Dalmer, Privatdozent der Theologie in Griefswald. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1894; *London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.* 8*vo. pp. viii.* 147. *Price, M.*2.

JOHN DALMER, a private lecturer in Theology in the University of Griefswald, discusses the question—or rather the series of questions—connected with the Divine Election of Israel in a detailed exposition of Romans ix.-xi. These chapters raise not a few perplexing problems for the theologian. In a brief notice like the present it is impossible to follow the discussion of any of the controverted questions in detail. But it may be said in a sentence that Herr Dalmer's scholarly and carefully-reasoned exposition well deserves attentive perusal by those who wish to make a thorough study of these important chapters. Like other German authors Herr Dalmer states his opinion clearly and emphatically; but he also supports his conclusions by reasoning founded on the text and the context, which, if not accepted as convincing, will be felt to require a well-grounded answer.

As might be expected, an exposition of these chapters contains a great deal of interesting matter. In the first page the author suggests the work he has in hand by stating a question which, though familiar, deserves the earnest attention of every devout student of holy Scripture. "The predictions of the Old Testament set before Israel the prospect of redemption. In Christ this redemption was realised. In His advent the fulfilment of the divine promises began. How then is it to be explained that Israel rejected the redemption promised to them? At the first blush, this problem seems to be insoluble. A two-fold possibility alone seems to be conceivable: either Israel was not the elect people of God, or Jesus was not the Messiah promised to Israel. But, in either case, the truth of the Gospel would be overthrown,—not merely in the latter case, but also in the former,—for if Israel was not the people of God the whole series of Old Testament promises are worthless and untenable, and the Gospel, which was to bring the fulfilment of these promises, becomes a building without a foundation. The Election

of Israel and the Messiahship of Jesus stand or fall together." These sentences indicate the nature of the problem discussed in the chapters under review.

The crucial difficulty lies in Election itself, as a truth or doctrine of our Christian faith, and on this matter our author states his opinion with sufficient distinctness. The will of God is the sole determining factor. The promise given by God to the seed of Abraham avails only for those whom God reckons as this seed. Among the descendants of Abraham He proceeds to make an election; and neither pure descent, nor works, nor any determining qualification of a subjective kind can give a man a claim to the promised inheritance: in this sphere the will of God who calls rules with absolute freedom (p. 20). Such is the author's conclusion regarding election in his exposition of chapter ix. 10-13. No merit on the part of man can come into the count, otherwise the argument of the Apostle is at fault. The case of Esau and Jacob is taken in order to show how impossible human merit is as a determining element in the divine Election. Even on the ground of the divine foreknowledge there is no place for human merit. For, admitting that God had before Him every detail of the life of Esau and Jacob before they were born, if the election of the latter depended in any respect on his actual life, the Apostle's reference to Election as having preceded the birth of the person elected has no force. And Paul was not the man to load or obscure an argument with irrelevant matter or pointless observations. The conclusion is that works, either as actually accomplished by man, or as foreseen by God, have absolutely nothing to do with Election. The same remark applies to faith. It is true, as Dalmer notes, that Godet in his commentary on the passage introduces a distinction between faith and works in this connection. "Faith foreseen," says Godet, "is a wholly different thing from works foreseen. The latter would really establish a right; the former contains only a moral condition, that, namely, which follows from the fact that possession in the case of a free being supposes acceptance. Work foreseen would impose obligation on God and take away from the freedom of His grace; faith foreseen only serves to direct its exercise."[1] No, says Dalmer, foreseen faith, as a determining element in election, would interfere with the Apostle's argument as seriously as foreseen works. And he holds that every subjective condition must be dealt with in the same way (pp. 18, 19).

The discussion on this important topic furnishes a good sample of the author's work, which, throughout, shows the care and completeness which we expect from German scholars.

What should be understood by the good olive-tree in chapter

[1] Godet: Comm. on Roms. (Clark's For. Theol. Lib.), vol. ii. pp. 148-9.

xi.? Is it the Jewish people? No, says Herr Dalmer. For, if so, how could Paul speak of branches being broken off from, and again grafted into the olive-tree? The unbelieving Jews were not cut off from the Jewish people through their unbelief. They remained a part of the people in spite of their unbelief; and the ingrafting of which the Apostle speaks cannot be an incorporating union with the Jews as a people. What the Apostle laments is the cutting off of the unbelieving Jews from the community of the saved, and what he hopes for is that these Jews may yet become members of that community. The good olive-tree therefore represents those who accepted Jesus as the Messiah and were saved through him (pp. 103, 104). All this is true enough; but in the case of a figure of this kind it is a question whether analysis should be very minute, or logic be applied very closely.

The author can scarcely be said to make good his contention that ἐχθροι has the active sense in xi. 28 (pp. 121, 2). The thought of the verse is against that view. Ἀγαπητοι, &c. (beloved for the Father's sake) can only apply to the feeling cherished by God towards the descendants of the Patriarchs. He remembers His covenant, and regards with affection the children of those with whom He made this covenant. Correspondingly ἐχθροι should be applied to those towards whom a feeling of holy anger is entertained by God on account of their rejection of the Gospel. The feeling—if such a word may be used—is one cherished by God, not by the unbelieving Jews towards God. This explanation of the word ἐχθρος is confirmed by chapter v. 10. ("If when we were enemies—ἐχθροι—we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, &c.). The death of Christ serves to reconcile God and His sinning creatures. But the purpose of a sacrificial death was not to effect a change in the feelings of the person who offered the sacrifice towards God; the object was to propitiate God,—to remove His holy anger, and secure His favour for the sinner. Christ's death sufficed to accomplish this according to chapter v. 10. Those for whom His death was operative lay under the righteous anger of God. So in chapter xi. 28, the unbelieving Jews are represented as being under the anger of their God, because they have rejected the Gospel; but the Apostle, looking down into the distant future, foresees the day when unbelief will give place to faith,—when all Israel will be saved, and adds, "These unbelievers, under wrath though they are, are beloved for the Father's sake."

GEO. G. CAMERON.

The Book of the Twelve Prophets,

Commonly called the Minor. By George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow. Vol. I.—Amos, Hosea, and Micah, with an Introduction and a Sketch of Prophecy in Early Israel. Expositor's Bible. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896. 8*vo, pp. xviii.* 440, 7*s.* 6*d.*

WITH much chivalry Prof. G. A. Smith attempts to rescue the prophets who had the supreme grace of brevity from the undeserved stigma suggested by the epithet "Minor," and recurs to an older and worthier title. His exposition will do more than any change in nomenclature to vindicate their claims, and to secure the fulfilment of the prayer of his motto:

> "And of the Twelve Prophets may the bones,
> Flourish again from their place."

The Introduction reminds us that "The Book of the Twelve Prophets" probably existed as a unity before its reception into the Canon. Prof. Smith holds that the Canon of the Prophets was closed about B.C. 250-200, and that portions of "The Twelve" may be a little later than B.C. 300. Yet these latest additions may have been made after the collection and fixture of twelve books; which would give a first edition of our Twelve some year before B.C. 300, and a second edition some year toward B.C. 250. It is also "more than probable," that there was a previous collection, as early as the Exile, of the books written before then. The selection of Amos, Hosea, and Micah, as the subjects of Vol. I., implies late dates for Obadiah, Joel, Nahum, and Zechariah, ix.-xiv. We presume that Zechariah i.-ix. on p. 8 is a misprint for i.-viii. Prof. Smith also recognises that "hands have been busy with the texts of the books long after the authors of these must have passed away."

In his sketch of Early Prophecy he insists on the invariable reference of the prophet's message to the circumstances of his own time. "His message is never out of touch with events." Indeed, the whole book emphasises the idea that Revelation is rather of God's dealings than of formal statements, dogmatical or ethical. "It is, therefore, God not merely as Truth, but far more as Providence, whom the prophet reveals." This principle enables our author to connect the early ecstatic prophecy with the utterances of the canonical writers. Though the earlier prophets differed widely in method and ideas from their successors, yet they were at one with them in offering the people practical divine guidance alike

in personal and in public matters. They exalted religion by connecting it with the great movements of national life. "Confine religion to the personal, it grows rancid, morbid. Wed it to patriotism, it lives in the open air and its blood is pure," p. 25. Thus "under their God" these early prophets "made Israel."

The exposition of the three books dealt with is worked out in Prof. Smith's usual masterly style and profusion of apt and luminous illustration. He makes considerable use of *The Vision of Piers Plowman* as affording parallels to our prophets, and traces a certain resemblance between English society in the fourteenth century A.D. and Hebrew society in the eighth century B.C. But we need scarcely say that his applications are not confined to England five hundred years ago. The lessons of the exposition are constantly brought home to English life to-day. The reader will be profoundly grateful to Prof. Smith for one feature of this volume,—it gives a complete translation of the three books expounded, and so can be read without the irritating necessity of constant reference to a Bible. The translation is original, and is for the most part clear, elegant, and forcible; where the Hebrew is unintelligible, a blank is left in the text. We doubt, however, whether the line, p. 412:

"Now press thyself together, thou daughter of pressure,"

even read in the light of the footnote "uncertain," will appreciably help the reader to understand Micah iv. And this sentence does not stand altogether alone. Considerable space is devoted to philological and critical questions both in the texts and the notes; and there are many traces of the author's recent investigations in the geography of Palestine.

While Prof. Smith fully emphasises the importance of the work of Amos as a new departure in Hebrew prophecy, he is careful to connect that work with the previous religious life of Israel. His introductory chapters enable him to make the connection easily and clearly. "In the ethics of Amos there is nothing which is not rooted in one or other of these achievements of the previous religion of his people," a relation which is symbolised by the divine utterance "from Zion, from Jerusalem." Immorality and oppression had been denounced alike by Moses and Samuel and Elijah. "With Amos we do not seem so much to have arrived at a new stage in a Process as to have penetrated to the Idea which has been behind the Process from the beginning," p. 106. The special teaching of Amos, in which he was followed by almost all the later prophets, was (i.) the assertion that Jehovah's treatment of the nation depended on their moral character, and (ii.) that religion could dispense with a ceremonial of rites and sacrifices. Prof. Smith shows how the cruel selfishness of the period was intimately connected with its civilised luxury, and readily lent itself to an

unspiritual ritualism. The parallel with the nineteenth century is perhaps obvious, but it is worked out with singular force. With regard to many of the disputed passages in Amos, Prof. Smith thinks the evidence inconclusive; but he decidedly rejects ix. 8-15, "The Final Hope," on the ground that while Amos is always preoccupied with the moral aspects of the questions he deals with, "All these prospects of the future restoration of Israel are absolutely without a moral feature."

Prof. Smith divides the Book of Hosea into two sections; i.-iii. reflecting the period immediately before the death of Jeroboam II., about B.C. 743; and iv.-xiv. between B.C. 743 and 734. He follows the late Prof. W. Robertson Smith in regarding the adultery of Hosea's wife as real, and as suggesting and influencing his prophetic utterances; and in holding that when Hosea attributes to Jehovah the command, "Go, take thee a wife of harlotry," he is recording not what he understood at the time of his marriage, but an interpretation based on subsequent experience. With regard to Hosea's main teaching, he took up the message of Amos, he repeated and emphasised the doom of Israel, the inexorableness of the righteous Law of Jehovah; but he brought it into relation with other aspects of truth." "There was needed a prophet to arise with as keen a conscience of Law as Amos himself, and yet affirm that Love was greater still. . . . The prophet of Conscience had to be followed by the prophet of Repentance. . . . For this task Hosea was equipped with the love and sympathy which Amos lacked," p. 229. Hence Hosea is especially concerned with the need, possibility, and conditions of Repentance, vi. 1-3. "Come and let us return unto the Lord, for He hath torn, and He will heal us," &c., is the expression of a "too facile repentance." The prophet dwells upon the love of God and Israel's sin against that love, tracing this sin to lack of knowledge, or experience of God. In keeping with our author's general view of the teaching of Hosea, he regards the vision of restoration in xiv. as the genuine work of a prophet so much occupied with God's love and Man's repentance.

The treatment of Micah is more slight, partly, doubtless, because Micah in some measure traverses much the same ground as Amos and Hosea, and partly, perhaps, because of uncertainty as to the origin of chapters iv.-vii. Much space is devoted to a statement and discussion of the present position of criticism as to these chapters. Prof. Smith—as against Dr Cheyne and others—argues very strongly for the substantial integrity of the Book of Micah. Yet when he comes to deal with iv.-vii., the exposition does not suggest that he has attained to any strong conviction that this section is really the work of Micah, even in substance. Somehow, when doubts have once been raised as to the authorship of

Micah iv.-vii., it is always difficult to accept them as the work of a prophet of the eighth or early seventh century. It is not so much a matter of formal argument as of general impression, the validity of which is difficult to estimate. But, whatever view we may take on critical questions, as to which doctors disagree, all earnest readers of the Old Testament will feel deeply indebted to Prof. Smith for this most interesting volume, with its brilliant exposition, and its wealth of information and spiritual teaching.

W. H. BENNETT.

Social Rights and Duties: Addresses to Ethical Societies.

By Leslie Stephen. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Limited, 1896. 2 *vols.* 8*vo, pp.* 255 *and* 267. *Price* 9*s.*

WE gather from the first of these interesting papers that Ethical Societies are intended to provide a refuge for those who reject the Christian faith, while at the same time they desire to cultivate sympathy with all who set before themselves a high ideal of life, who believe that it is only by raising the moral standard that we can hope to solve the problems of modern society. Mr Stephen quietly assumes that all his hearers have taken what he calls the side of the downright thinker; he is resolved to put away not only the rhetoric of the Salvation Army, but the reasonings of the more intellectual teachers who have attempted to reconcile religion with philosophy. In the judgment of the present writer, this "ethical" position is wholly untenable. If Mr Stephen means to justify the faith that is in him by applying scientific method to the facts of human experience, he will find that his ideal is no more susceptible of strict proof than that of Cardinal Manning. If, on the other hand, his ideal is to be accepted without strict proof, because it seems to sum up and harmonise all the highest conceptions we can form of man's nature and destiny, he will find that he is regarding the universe from a point of view to which mere experience would never have brought him, or, in other words, that he has taken the first step towards the construction of a theology.

Having thus indicated the width of the difference between Mr Stephen's position and my own, I hasten to say that there is much in these two volumes which thoughtful men of all schools will read with pleasure and profit. The form of a popular address (even Ethical Societies are not entirely composed of philosophers) hardly permits of systematic presentation of truth; here and there we observe that the speaker is humorously walking round a difficulty instead of dealing with it directly. But, when all is said, these lay sermons are excellent examples of the author's manner. We all

know that Mr Stephen is a well-read man, but his learning does not embarrass his style; clearness of thought and expression is his characteristic merit. His subjects are varied—Science and Politics, the Sphere of Political Economy, Social Equality, Heredity, Luxury, the Vanity of Philosophising—these selected titles may indicate the scope of the volumes under review; in a short notice, indications are all that can be given.

Mr Stephen is so candidly independent that we hesitate to affix a party label to his name; but he will probably not object to be described as an academic Liberal. Like the rest of that school, he shews a very proper indifference to popular opinion, when it runs counter to ascertained principles. Like Mill and Maine, and most academic politicians, he sometimes falls into the mistake of identifying the People with the more ignorant and self-confident portion thereof. Thus—to return to my original cause of quarrel with Mr Stephen — he tells us that "a religion really to affect the vulgar must be a superstition; to satisfy the thoughtful, it must be a philosophy." If this statement is meant to be exhaustive, it is, I think, misleading, and even, in a sense, unethical. It leaves out of sight the great mass of decent people, who are neither "thoughtful" enough to require a philosophy, nor "vulgar" enough to give themselves over to superstition. In the countries best known to us, this great body of average opinion is moralised by the influence of the Christian religion. Mr Stephen would argue that the Christian religion is, to some extent, a superstition, and that the philosopher cannot accept it without laying aside his intellectual manhood. If this be so, the Ethical Societies must undertake to moralise the average civilised man; and, with all respect for the honesty of their intentions, I am not quite convinced that they are equal to the task.

T. Raleigh.

Outlines of Psychology, based upon the Results of Experimental Investigation.

By Oswald Külpe, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Wurzburg. Translated from the German (1893) *by Edward Bradford Titchener, Sage Professor of Psychology in the Cornell University. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Limited.* 8*vo, pp.* 462. *Price* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Die Moderne Physiologische Psychologie in Deutschland. Eine historische-kritische Untersuchung mit besonderer Berucksichtigung des Problems der Aufmerksamkeit.

Von Dr W. Heinrich. Zurich: Verlag von E. Speidel. 8*vo, pp. iv.* 234. *Price M.*4.

Die Psychologie in der Religionswissenschaft.

Grundlegung von Dr Emil. Koch. Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo, pp.* 146. *Price M.*2.80.

It is exceedingly difficult, within our limits, to give a clear conception of the contents of the elaborate work of Professor Külpe. It is one of the most complete presentations of the newer psychology which has yet appeared. That it should have appeared in an English translation so complete and adequate, is a source of gratitude. It is one of the best translations we have seen. It is well that the book should appear in English in the best possible form, for it is a book which will inevitably be closely scrutinised, and will give rise to much controversy. It follows in the wake of Wundt, adopts his method, and accentuates his results. Taken in connection with the sudden growth of physiological psychology in Germany and America, and in our land, it indicates a trend of opinion which must be closely examined. We have much to learn from the experimental school, and the knowledge they communicate to us is very valuable, yet we must care lest a true psychology should be swamped in the mass of mere physiological details.

After an introduction which sets forth the meaning and problem, the methods and aids, and the classification and literature of psychology, Professor Külpe divides his book into three parts,—I. The elements of consciousness; II. The connections of consciousness; III. The state of consciousness. The divisions are significant, and of themselves sufficiently indicate the point of view of the author. In this brief notice we deal only with the point of view. Apart from that, we may express our admiration of the literary power, of the clearness of exposition, of the excellent arrangement, and of the freshness and power of the whole work. There is much that is of supreme value from any point of view. The very excellence of the work and the workmanship, however, make a critical examination of its idea of psychology all the more needful. We shall look to the professed psychologists of Great Britain for a thorough criticism of the book, both in its idea and in its details. We shall allow the Professor to set forth his own view. "The business of all science is the description of facts. . . . The facts with which science in general, apart from philosophy, has to deal, we term *facts of experience.* They are the ultimate and original data of our experience; they constitute the subject-matter of reflection, although they are not reflection. Philosophy, on the other hand, has to investigate the description of these facts; our reflection upon experience is made the object of a separate inquiry.

Now, it is evident that the ideas, passions, etc., which psychologists of the most different schools agree in discussing in their treatises, must be considered facts of experience. Hence it follows that psychology belongs, not to the philosophical disciplines, but to the special sciences." Having placed psychology among the special sciences, our author has great difficulty in finding a place for it, and a fitting relation to any of the other sciences. "Psychology is inductive, for instance, while mathematics is deductive; it stands to pedagogy as theory to practice; it is still, in the main, descriptive as compared with the 'exact' sciences, which are, *par excellence*, explanatory. The only principle of delimitation which cannot possibly be employed is that of the subject treated. The reason is, that there is no single fact of experience which cannot be made the subject of psychological investigation. Now, since all the other rubrics specify the form and the matter of the scientific work which they cover, and since the relation of psychology to natural science cannot be subsumed to any one of them in particular, it is clear that we must look for the distinct character of psychological subject-matter, not in the particular nature of a definite class of experiental facts, but rather in some property which attaches to all alike. This property is the *dependence of facts of experience upon experiencing individuals.*"

The definition of the meaning and problem of psychology is somewhat peculiar. It departs in certain essential respects from that usually given and commonly accepted. As a matter of fact, the contrast between psychology and the other sciences is usually set forth as the contrast between a science which deals with the phenomena revealed in consciousness to introspection, and the sciences which deal with phenomena given in sense and revealed to observation. The distinction as set forth by Professor Külpe is merely external, and leaves to psychology no distinctive sphere. It depends wholly on what meaning we attach to *facts of experience*, to *dependence* and to *experiencing individuals*. What are we to understand by the phrase, facts of experience? How, on the view of our author, are we to distinguish between the facts of experience, which are the subject of all the sciences, and those facts which are the subject of psychology? All facts of experience depend on the experiencing individual. We have looked in vain for any principle, in virtue of which we can discriminate between the facts of the sciences in general, and the facts peculiar to psychology. Thus at the basis of his scheme there are positions which are left unclear and undefined. Again, Professor Külpe finds himself in great difficulty when he attempts to win universal validity for the results which he has reached by a study of the individual. It is a difficulty on any theory—it is an unsurmountable difficulty on the theory of Pro-

fessor Külpe. For he places the peculiarities of the individual in the forefront, and he makes it impossible for us ever to get beyond the individual to any principle common to all individuals. The particular rules, and anything universal is both illegitimate and impossible.

We have still to learn who is the experiencing individual, and on inquiry we find that the individual is the "corporeal individual." "It is plain, even now, that the dependency of which we are thinking is a dependency upon the corporeal individual." It would appear to follow from this definition of the individual that the Professor would approach his problem from the corporeal side, and set forth mental processes mainly in terms of physiology. We find, to our amazement, that "the introspective method is the simplest and most obvious of all." Along with the introspective method he places the experimental method and speaks of both as direct methods, in contrast with the indirect methods, of which the most conspicuous are the memorial and the linguistic. He has not shown how the corporeity of the individual is related to the use of the introspective method. In fact, he seems to have forgotten his description of the individual as soon as he has given it, and it has no apparent relation to his description of the methods of psychology.

When we pass from the introductory chapter, and come to the working out of his scheme, we are puzzled at the very outset. He seems to begin with an abstraction. The opening sentence reads thus: "A sensation is a simple conscious process standing in a relation of dependency to particular nervous organs, peripheral and central." It is a peculiar definition. It assumes that a sensation can stand alone, and by itself, with no relation to other sensations before or after. There is no reference in the definition to the self which has the sensation, or any inquiry into the possibility of a sensation which is related only to particular nervous organs. English psychology has, in the hands of its more recent exponents, overcome the tendency exemplified in the works of Hume and J. S. Mill, of regarding consciousness as a mere succession of ideas without inner bond and connection, or as a series of our possible and actual sensations. They recognise the fact that the sensation or idea exists only as a member of a connected, conscious series, and that consciousness can never be conceived as a mere sum or product. We may refer to the works of James, Bowne, and to many others for illustration. The difference is vital for psychology. If we believe that every individual element belongs to consciousness only through its union with other elements, our method will be very different from what it will be, if we proceed on the assumption that each sensation can stand by itself. Professor Külpe tries

to justify his method by a reference to chemistry, but chemical molecules can be isolated, and can be studied by themselves. Sensations cannot be isolated, and certainly we ought not to ignore, in any study of them, the supreme fact that they are sensations only in reference to a subject. Professor Külpe thus begins his study with an impossible assumption, and his discussion is barren and unfruitful. He has first sensations abstracted from everything which gives them validity, then in an artificial way he seeks for connections between these sensations formerly assumed as possible, and then he is under the necessity of looking on consciousness as a sum or product, made up somehow by the interaction of elements. It seems a hopeless task. Yet there are so many fine things in the book, so many ingenious speculations, so many subtle observations, reflections, additions to our knowledge, that we are sorry to think—as we are compelled to think—of the book as misleading and reactionary.

The second book on our list is exceedingly valuable. It is both historical and critical. It gives, within short compass, a trustworthy account of the progress of physiological psychology in Germany from Fechner onwards. A brief but weighty Introduction sets forth the problem as it was presented to, and by, successive thinkers during all the history of philosophy. The names of Descartes, Leibnitz, and Wolff are conspicuous on the pages of the first part of the Introduction. With the name of Herbart the account becomes more detailed. His system is sufficiently set forth, while attention is directed to the systems of Drobisch and Waitz, and in the third, notice is taken of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Ulrici, on to Lotze. Then come detailed critical accounts of Fechner and V. Helmholtz, G. E. Muller and Pilzecker, Wundt, N. Lange, Külpe, Münsterberg, Ziehen, and Richard Avenarius. The book is most valuable, full of information, and rich in critical insight.

Professor Koch is exceedingly anxious to deliver the science of religion from the bondage in which it has been held by metaphysics, and to restore it to psychological freedom. His book is written in a lively and interesting manner, and does good service in calling attention to the barrenness of formal metaphysics. It is stronger in its destructive criticism than it is in its more constructive portions. In fact, it would seem that more agreement is needed as to the aims, methods, and scope of psychology, before we proceed to displace metaphysics in favour of psychology. The question arises what system of psychology are we to substitute for metaphysics. Dr Koch has his own system, but it is not beyond criticism. A

description and a criticism of it cannot be given here and now. We have, however, found the book to be full of interest, and provocative of thought. JAMES IVERACH.

Petrus der Iberer ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen- und Sittengeschichte des fünften Jahrhunderts.

Syrische Uebersetzung einer um das Jahr 500 *verfassten griechischen Biographie. Herausgegeben und uebersetzt von Richard Raabe. Leipzig: Hinrichs,* 1895; *Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vii.* 132 *and* 146. *Price, M.*15.

IT is all too seldom that we get an unrefracted view of one who was a saint in the eyes of his followers, but a heretic in the judgment of the Church. The lives of these men have to be constructed, for the most part, from the reports of their adversaries, broken into fragments, distorted at the best by the desire to exalt orthodoxy by representing only the darker side of schism. Here is the life of a Monophysite Bishop and Saint of the fifth century, written by one who shared both his experiences and his creed. It has been recovered in a Syriac translation from the original Greek, which appears to be lost, and is edited by a competent scholar, with a translation into German, Introduction and Notes. The editor has followed mainly the text of a MS. in Berlin, but gives corrections and additions from another MS. in the British Museum, to which attention was called by Dr Wright.

There were at the same period no fewer than three Monophysite leaders of note bearing the name of Peter—Peter Fullo of Antioch, Peter Mongus, the "Stammerer" of Alexandria, and Peter the Iberian. Of the last, not the least worthy of the three, less has hitherto been known than of the other two. From Evagrius and Zacharias of Mitylene we learn that he enjoyed a great reputation among his fellow-Monophysites, and took part in the consecration of Timotheus Aelurus as Bishop of Alexandria, which Calandro of Antioch frankly denounced as spiritual "adultery." This new source of information shows that there was not much more of a public character to record, but it fills in particulars of the Iberian priest's history, and sets him in an atmosphere of unbounded admiration and reverence. Born a prince of the royal house of Iberia—some useful light is shed upon the early history of Christianity in this Caucasian kingdom—he was sent in early youth as a hostage to Constantinople. There he became imbued with the spirit of monasticism, and escaped at the age of twenty to make his way to Palestine. Becoming a monk, he dwelt partly in Jerusalem, partly in the monastery on the Mount of Olives, until

he was taken by main force and ordained to the priesthood, and afterwards consecrated Bishop of Majuma, the port of Gaza. His reputation for sanctity was confirmed by innumerable miracles, and for wisdom by the invitation to proceed to Egypt to advise on the ecclesiastical situation there. Apart from this absence of two years, his life was spent in Palestine, where, however, he travelled much, partly on Church business, partly in search of health.

There is no direct allusion to burning questions in the biography; the orthodoxy of the Monophysites is throughout taken for granted. We get the impression that the Antiochene Christology was almost universal in Palestine. Chalcedon changes places with Ephesus, and becomes the "Robber-Council"; Cyril, Timotheus and Dioscurus are the champions of orthodoxy, Proterius the traitor to the truth.

Apart from the unwonted insight into the life of a heretical sect, and the somewhat pleasing and fantastic effect of a historical mirage in which Pope Leo appears as an arch-heretic, the further interest of the book lies in its contributions to Palestine topography in the latter half of the fifth century. The topography, churches and monasteries of Jerusalem (*cf.* esp. pp. 40 *seq.* 94), Gaza, Jamnia and Shochoh, the trans-Jordanic region (which is called "Arabia") with Nebo, Madaba and the Baths of Livia, are only some of the points worthy of note. There is also a curious reference to Gerizim (p. 35) and to an idol which stood upon the mountain and was worshipped by the Samaritans "unto this day." The garrulous chronicler wastes much of his space and of our patience upon the miracles wrought by his hero, but we can forgive him in consideration of the numerous touches, such as are not common in works of this period, which throw light upon the climate, vegetation, and natural scenery of Palestine, and especially of the East side of Jordan.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

The Doctrine of the Incarnation.

By Robert L. Ottley, Fellow of S. M. Magdalen College, and Principal of Pusey House, Oxford. London: Methuen & Co., 1896. 2 *vols.* 8*vo, pp. xii.* 324 *and x.* 366. *Price,* 15*s.*

Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation.

By Charles Gore, M.A., Canon of Westminster, of the Community of the Resurrection, Radley. London: John Murray, 1895. 8*vo, pp. xvi.* 323. *Price,* 7*s.* 6*d.*

MR OTTLEY'S book on the *Incarnation* is intended for students in Theology. It aims at providing a "compendious and plain introduction to the doctrine of the Incarnation, giving a connected

outline of the theology and doctrinal history which may be studied separately and more minutely in larger books." The volume opens with a general statement on the Incarnation, its "nature, different aspects, and relation to various provinces of thought and inquiry." This is done briefly, and simply by way of introduction to the main subject. The second section of the work is devoted to the "Scriptural presentation of the doctrine," this being treated as belonging to the history of dogma. The bulk of the book, however, is occupied by the third division, which extends from Part III. to Part IX., and gives a historical sketch of the position of the doctrine in the period between the Apostolic Fathers and the close of the sixteenth century. Then follows a section which is described as a "series of notes on the actual contents of the doctrine, comprising a brief discussion both of theological points and of the technical terms most frequently employed by ecclesiastical writers."

In accordance with this plan the Incarnation is expounded first in respect of its purpose as the climax of history, the climax also of creation, the restoration of humanity, and the revelation of God. Little more than hints and outlines will be found here; but these are sometimes very suggestive. A summary is then given of the evidence of the Incarnation, Apostolic teaching, the history of the Church, the spiritual experience of Christians, and the early New Testament literature being successively reviewed. Here some good things are said of the force of the convictions held and proclaimed by the Apostles themselves. The presentation of the doctrine in Scripture is next dealt with, the witness of the Old Testament and that of the New Testament being handled in turn. There are some very vulnerable points in the statement of the Old Testament teaching, particularly as regards the passages adduced in proof of the intimation of a plurality of Persons in the Godhead. The New Testament doctrine is treated with more success, the main points being briefly and clearly indicated in the ideas and deliverances contained in each of the great divisions of the Apostolic writings. The witness of St Paul is perhaps the best part of this section of the work, his implicit teaching being dealt with particular skill, and its significance being enforced with much ability. The most doubtful statements here occur in what is said about the "extension of the Incarnate life," in connection with such passages as the opening paragraphs of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

The history of the doctrine in the Church, in the speculations of individual thinkers, in the great schools of theology, and in the ecclesiastical councils, is given with considerable fulness. There are many points here which invite attention. There are cases in which Mr Ottley attributes a greater precision to his authorities than can justly be claimed for them, and the estimate of the great

heresies is sometimes inadequate. The real meaning of the Arian Movement, the way in which it was met by the great theologians, and the reasons for this are only partially grasped. Too little is said, too, of the way in which the great, defining theological terms came to be selected and commended themselves to the Church generally. On the other hand, many excellent and most useful summaries are given of forms of opinion, ecclesiastical decisions, and the doctrinal systems of the leading theologians. We may refer in particular to the statements on Apollinarianism, Irenaeus, the Christologies of Origen, Athanasius, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The question of the genius and the influence of the Greek Theology is handled with ability and insight. The book will be a welcome help to theological students. They will find in it a handy and generally reliable *conspectus* of a large and difficult subject. It will furnish them in succinct form with the results of the larger and more authoritative works on Christology, and will give them guiding lines for further studies. The history stops, however, with Richard Hooker. The great and fertile field of modern Christological speculation is left untouched.

In his *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*, Canon Gore fulfils an expectation which was held forth when his Bampton Lectures were published, and gives us the fruit of extended studies in the great subject which he handled then. The book will be read with attention by all who understand the importance of recent movements of thought on the central questions of Christology. It will be read with special interest by those who have followed Canon Gore's positions in the contributions which he has made to English theology. In this book he gives us his mind on certain subjects which could be dealt with only in a tentative and partial way in his lectures. He does this with large wealth of learning, with the force of strong conviction, and in a clear and telling style. The Dissertations are three in number, their subjects being the *Virgin Birth of our Lord*, the *Consciousness of our Lord in His Mortal Life*, and *Transubstantion and Nihilianism*. The last of these themes is the one that has the least immediate interest. It lies comparatively remote from the thoughts of the Protestantism of the present day. It is of use, however, to be reminded, as here we are reminded, of the tremendous part once played by this dogma, of the position it yet holds in the Roman Catholic system, and of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical connections which must make it a thing of permanent interest to the theologian and the historian. Canon Gore traces it back to its origins, and shows how it owed its rise and its prevalence in large measure to mistaken views of the Incarnation which

were current in the Middle Ages. The crudeness and absurdity of the metaphysical subtleties with which it was underpropped, the burden it imposed upon conscience and intelligence, and the fact that the Christological opinions with which it was vitally connected amounted virtually to an annihilation of Christ's humanity are powerfully exhibited.

The first of the three essays has more than an antiquarian or historical interest. It discusses in a spirit of perfect reverence, and with a deep sense of the importance of the issue, the question of our Lord's birth. The Virgin-birth is studied in its relation to the Incarnation. The position by which Canon Gore stands is the reasonable one—that if the greater miracle of the Incarnation is accepted there is no difficulty *a priori* in accepting the lesser miracle of the Virgin-birth; that on the contrary it may be said that the latter is implied in the former; and that consequently the belief in our Lord's supernatural entrance into humanity cannot be allowed to fall into neglect with justice or without loss. The ultimate question, however, is of course recognised by Canon Gore to be one of fact. Have we reasonable ground for retaining this belief? Canon Gore meets this question frankly. He goes over the usual ground here, and gives his explanation of the silence of Mark, John, and Paul. His view is that Matthew must have derived his knowledge of the fact from Joseph, and Luke his acquaintance with it from Mary; as to Paul and John, his opinion is, that if they do not state the fact, they at least imply it. The history of the belief is then traced as it shaped itself in the early Church, with the view of showing that the Virgin-birth was one of the things which were not doubted, except by a few heretics. There are some questionable points in this argument. The explanation which is given of the silence of Mark and John, as due to the fact that the Gospel was meant to be simply the record of personal testimony to the main facts connected with our Lord's life, will not be felt to be quite adequate; neither will it be accepted as a quite relevant reason for holding Luke's narrative to have been of earlier date than Christ's rejection that it is of a joyous Messianic character. But the whole makes a piece of good and careful reasoning, and the counter-hypotheses which seek to explain the belief by the working of the legendary spirit or by the idea of an accommodation of prophecy, are subjected to a very searching examination.

By much the ablest and most important of these Dissertations, however, is the one on our Lord's consciousness. Canon Gore proceeds upon the just principle that a measure of limitation in knowledge, as in all things else, on the part of the Divine Son, is involved in the reality of His Incarnation, and that here, again,

the acceptance of the greater miracle of the entrance of God into humanity should make the smaller miracle of the limitation of knowledge seem less of a difficulty. He brings together with admirable force the facts in the Gospels which imply Christ's possession of a human nature, genuine and like our own in all normal points —his growth in wisdom and knowledge, His requests for information, His living by prayer, His experience of that trial of soul in which God's Fatherhood ceases to be recognised, His way of speaking at times of the future, His declared ignorance of the day and hour of His own Second Coming. These things imply, he sees, that alongside the possession of a certain supernatural knowledge and insight, our Lord entered really into the conditions of a limited human consciousness. The great passages in the epistles which bear upon this question are expounded, in most cases with success. In the Exposition of Philippians ii., however, it is not quite exact to identify the "form of God" with the *essence* of God; neither is the exegesis of John i. 18 quite adequate. The Christological problem is then considered in its theological relations, and a review of the Kenotic theories is given, which, if it does not carry us beyond what we already had, is useful. On one or two points, however, it is defective. The statements both of Dr Godet's position and of Dr Fairbairn's would not be accepted, we think, as satisfactory by these writers themselves. Canon Gore comes at last to something like Bishop Martensen's view. It seems to us surprising that this is the case. If there is one form of the Kenotic doctrine that is less homogeneous and less intelligible than another, it is this theory of a double life. Canon Gore might have found better things for his purpose in such a construction of the problem as that given by Thomasius, in which all is made to turn on a distinction, which is at least neither unintelligible nor unreasonable, between two classes of attributes. But, apart from his particular conclusion, Canon Gore has given us a book of real value, full of life, and rich in theological thought.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Notices.

Professor Sanday's Bampton Lectures on *Inspiration*[1] have reached the third edition. It is pleasant to see that they have had the acceptance which they deserve. The book has already been noticed in this Review, and it is not necessary to repeat what has been said as to its merits. It is a distinct and most helpful contribution to a difficult question, and within the limits which it has set for itself it is the best English book on the subject. It does

[1] London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1896. 8vo, pp. xxix. 477, price 7s. 6d.

not attempt to overtake all that might be brought under its title, but confines itself to the "early history and origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration." It carries us over the main points in the history of the Canon, the estimates of the New Testament and of the Old in the early Church, the rise first of the Old Testament books and then of the New Testament writings, and the historical course by which they came to be set apart as canonical. That is the chief task to which the book addresses itself, and it is a task involving the discussion of a multitude of questions, especially regarding the New Testament writings, on which few men can speak with such authority as Professor Sanday. In the statement and criticism of the alternative theories of Inspiration, with which the Lectures close, we have what brings us, at least, a step nearer the solution of the main problem. The present edition is enlarged by a new Preface and by the addition of a Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, in which one of the leading ideas of the volume is expanded and restated in popular form. That idea is that the phenomena of the Bible, the spiritual knowledge which the Jewish people possessed, and the message which the Prophets and Apostles delivered, "demand such an explanation as that to which we give the name 'Inspiration,' that the more typical form of this is that which appears in the writings of the Prophets, and that the best account of it is that which may be gathered from the words of the Prophets themselves." Still wider acceptance, we trust, awaits this able and judicious inquiry into what is distinctive of Scripture.

Dr K. S. Macdonald, Fellow of the University of Calcutta, has issued a work of some interest on *The Story of Barlaam and Joasaph.*[1] The book deals with the question of the relations of Buddhism and Christianity. It is the result of studies in the British Museum, in which Dr Macdonald had to do with what was apparently "the latest form in which the story was published in the English language," viz., *The History of the Five Wise Philosophers*, or *The wonderful relation of the Life of Jehoshaphat*, of the dates 1711 and 1732. The author's object is to rectify what he believes to be a "total misapprehension of the facts and history with reference to the supposed influence of Buddhism on Christianity." He gives first an introduction containing a general account of the Story of Barlaam and Joasaph, its peculiar charm, its origin as leading us back to the Legend of Buddha and the Birth-Stories, the Greek authorship of the fifth or the eighth century, its extensive circulation, its marvellous popularity, its embodiment of the Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints, its special interest to the India missionary, etc. He then proceeds to controvert the theories of Mr Arthur Lillie, M. Ernest de Bunsen,

[1] Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1895. 8vo, pp. lxi. 136.

Professor Seydel, and others, and produces an array of considerations showing that we have no reason to suppose that either the Life of Buddha or the Buddhistic doctrine had any influence on the Gospels or other New Testament writings; and that there is as little reason to believe that either Christ or His Apostles had ever heard of Buddha and Buddhism; that, in point of fact, Buddha and Buddhism do not seem to have been known in Syria, Egypt, or Europe, before the third century of the Christian era; and that what is common to the Buddhistic Scriptures and the Bible is not enough to justify the inference that there had been contact between the two. A communication is included, in which Professor Ramsay of Aberdeen gives it as his opinion that "there is not a trace of evidence that Buddhism or Buddhistic ideas were known in Asia Minor in the first century after Christ." There is also a contribution from the Rev. John Morrison, Principal of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta, giving a Philological Introduction and Notes to the Vernon, Harleian, and Bodleian versions.

An important contribution is made to the materials which are at our service for understanding the Church of England by the publication of the collection of *Documents illustrative of English Church History.*[1] The Documents which are given begin with that of the British Signatories at the Council of Arles in 314 A.D., and close with the Act of Settlement in 1700 A.D. In all, we get 124 documents transcribed with great care, the spelling of the old English papers being modernised, and translations being given of those in Latin and Norman French. Of the documents belonging to the period preceding the Norman conquest only those of primary importance are included. After that period a larger selection is made, and many of these documents are of the utmost interest and importance, not only for the student of English Church History, but for all who have an interest in Constitutional History. Among the various papers of historical importance which have been collected from many different quarters, carefully transcribed, and placed at the easy disposal of all readers in this admirable volume, we have the Tithe Ordinance of Athelstan; the Letter of William the Conqueror to Pope Gregory VII.; the Constitutions of Clarendon; John's Surrender of the Kingdom to the Pope; the Mortmain Act; the Act "De Haeretico Comburendo"; the Act for the Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries; Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity; the Millenary Petition; the Solemn League and Covenant; the Engagement; and others.

It is more than a quarter of a century, we are told by the editor,

[1] Compiled from original sources by Henry Gee, B.D., F.S.A., and William John Hardy, F.S.A. London: Macmillan & Co. Crown 8vo. Pp. xii. 670. Price 10s. 6d.

Professor W. R. Clark of Toronto, since the proposal was made to introduce Hefele's great work on the *Councils of the Church*[1] to the English reader. The translation has now reached the fifth volume, and with that the undertaking, begun so long ago, is completed. This volume covers the period from A.D. 626 to the close of the Second Council of Nicæa in A.D. 787. The history of the Mediaeval Councils, which are of real, though subordinate, interest, is thus not to be included. But the five volumes which we now possess embrace the most important periods and the most valuable sections of the History. We cannot be too thankful for these volumes. No student of Church History or of the History of Doctrine can afford to dispense with them. This last volume is one of great interest, dealing as it does with the Monothelite and Iconoclastic Controversies; the Letters of Honorius; the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius; the Trullan Synod; and many other matters of great importance.

We welcome the appearance of the first part of a new edition of *Herzog's Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.*[2] The original *Herzog* was a vast and most successful undertaking. It contained many articles of the first rank, which are far from being antiquated even now. The second edition has also been widely appreciated, and now a third is projected and actually begun. It is to be an enlarged and improved edition, to be completed in 180 parts, costing one mark each. The editor is Professor Albert Hauck of Leipzig. The first part, which takes us on to the article on *Aberglaube*, augurs well for the success of the undertaking.

In *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*,[3] Professor William Henry Green, of Princeton, gives in clear and compact form the arguments and criticisms which he has delivered on different occasions on the Pentateuchal question. He holds, as is well-known, by the old position, and by that indeed more absolutely than is the case with most who adhere to that view as a whole. He believes, with the utmost conviction and without reserve, that "the faith of all past ages in respect to the Pentateuch has not been mistaken," and in this volume he brings together the results of much reverent and laborious study. He first sets forth what he conceives the Pentateuch to be in relation to the Old Testament as a whole. He next unfolds the plan and contents of the Mosaic books, showing their

[1] A History of the Councils of the Church from the Original Documents. By the Right Rev. Charles Joseph Hefele, D.D., late Bishop of Rothenburg, formerly Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen. Vol. V. translated from the German with the author's approbation, and edited by W. R. Clark, M.A., LL.D., &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896. 8vo. Pp. xvi. 472. Price, 12s.

[2] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896. Large 8vo, pp. 80. Price, M.1.

[3] London: Dickinson, 1895. 8vo, pp. xiii. 184.

unity, their orderly arrangement, and the plan observable in them which is "suggestive of a single author." He then proceeds to detail the various arguments, external and internal, which go to prove Moses to have been the author. In this connection he reviews and criticises the counter-arguments, and closes with some remarks on the methods of the Higher Criticism, and on "the hazardous experiment of the so-called Evangelical Critics." Professor Green's views are well understood, and need not here be criticised anew. He is the ablest defender of the traditional opinion. He is a veteran among Old Testament scholars, whom we congratulate on his accomplished Jubilee. His scholarship entitles him to be heard on this question with the utmost respect, and the publication of his views in this compact form will be gratefully received by many.

Pastor E. V. Starck's *Palestina und Syrien von Anfang der Geschichte bis zum Siege des Islam*,[1] is a collection of ancient geographical names with their modern identifications. The author is a pupil of the late Professor Gildemeister. He endeavours to write in his spirit and in accordance with his methods. He has made diligent use of all the best authorities, ancient and modern, and has enjoyed the valuable assistance of Professors Socin and Guthe among others. He has followed the Maps of Van de Velde, Kiepert, Guthe, and above all, of the Survey. His book will be of much service.

Mr C. G. Montefiore has published the first part of a *Bible for Home Reading*.[2] It is meant for Jewish homes, and is furnished with Comments and Reflections for the use of Jewish parents and children. The present section embraces all to the second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem. The book is prepared to meet the case of those parents who are "unwilling to place the Bible, *pur et simple*, in the hands of their children," who no longer believe that "every word in the Bible is historically accurate," and are not "unaware that there are many varieties or degrees in its ethical and religious teaching." It begins with a chapter on the Bible itself, its greatness, its two main subjects, and how the Jews learnt about Goodness and God. It then takes up in succession the stories of Abraham, Isaac and his two Sons, Joseph, the Exodus and Moses, the Laws of the Hebrews, the Judges, and the Kings. It concludes with a chapter on *Traditions of the Past and Visions of the Future*, in which the stories of the Creation, the Flood, the Tower of Babel, and other matters are dealt with. The style is simple, the intention being to suit both parents and children. The comments are brief, and of different degrees of difficulty. The whole is written from

[1] Lexikalisches Hilfesbuch für Freunde des Heiligen Landes. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard. 8vo, pp. vi. 168. Price, M.4.50.

[2] London: Macmillan, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii. 621. Price, 6s.

the standpoint of the Jewish critic, with whom "the inspiration of the letter of Scripture is not a dogma which commends itself to the growing thought of the world or of Judaism."

Mr T. Bailey Saunders continues the series of publications, in which he aims at giving the minor works of Schopenhauer in a form suitable to the English reader. In this new volume we get *The Art of Conversation and other Posthumous Papers.*[1] The selection and the translation are both done with care. Among other things of interest we have the aphorisms on the *Wisdom of Life*, which well deserve to be read, and the curious paper on *Genius and Virtue*, in which the latter is described as "not exactly a positive weakness of the will," but rather "an intentional restraint imposed upon its notice through a knowledge of it in its inmost being, as manifested to the world." The life of the average man is defined as "essentially one of the greatest boredom."

Two additions are made to the *Famous Scots* series, published by Messrs Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, of Edinburgh and London. Both volumes are admirably printed and most tasteful in form, with designs and ornaments by Mr Joseph Brown. The one is a careful and appreciative study of *Hugh Miller*,[2] by W. Keith Leask, in which one of the most remarkable Scots of recent times, a man of whom all Scotland is proud, the Cromarty mason who rose to the first rank as geologist, journalist, and man of letters, is appropriately presented to us as he appears in the "surroundings of Church and State" in which his work was done. The other is Mr A. Taylor Innes's *John Knox.*[3] In the greatest of Scots Mr Innes has a congenial subject, and he has done justice to it. The volume is written with admirable point and clearness. It is interesting from first to last, and gives a picture of the great Reformer as scholar and priest, in the crises of his career, in his inner life, and in his public action, which is both true to fact and attractive in form. One of the best chapters is the one on his *Inner Life*, in which, however, even more might be made of certain elements of nature in Knox,—his humour, for example, which is not so familiar to most readers.

The Saviour of the World[4] is the work of an anonymous writer, whose object is to examine the life of Jesus Christ from the standpoint of one who looks upon Him as belonging to "humanity as a whole," as having a mission to the race, and as possessing "a right to every man." The author writes under the conviction that the mission of our Lord has been "too exclusively regarded as the salvation of a section of humanity"; that morals are too generally

[1] London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 116. Price, 2s. 6d.
[2] Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 157. Price, 1s. 6d.
[3] Cr. 8vo, pp. 158. Price, 1s. 6s.
[4] London: Elliot Stock, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. 285. Price 5s.

spoken of as "inferior to religion," whereas they "come first for humanity"; that the religion of Jesus, therefore, must be studied as "the inspiration of morality in the highest degree"; and that Christian doctrine has "tended to isolate Him from the common and universal interest of moral beings." His object, consequently, is to claim Jesus again for all humanity, and to review "His life and relations as these are presented in the four Gospels, with a view to finding out how this Man could be what He was evidently designed to be, what He is plainly declared to be, and what He is becoming—the Saviour of the *World*."

The book undertakes, therefore, to make a contribution to a larger apprehension of the work of our Lord than has hitherto generally prevailed, but for which much in the history of the Church has been preparing the way. It has no sympathy with those who "claim Jesus for the common humanity, by depriving Him of all superhuman features." It strongly affirms that humanity, though described with "absolute completeness," cannot measure Him. This is the important note in the book, which compensates for the limited success with which its main purpose is carried out. It is divided into three parts, treating in succession of the *World to which Christ came, the Christ who came to the World*, and the *World since Christ came*. On the *Sinlessness* of Christ, and other subjects, many sensible things are said, and the book as a whole will be read with profit.

In the course of his Episcopal Visitation in 1895, Dr Boyd Carpenter delivered seven addresses on *Christian Reunion*.[1] They are as eloquent as others of the Bishop's publications, and carry the reader pleasantly along. They deal in a moderate spirit and an instructive way with the conditions and prospects of reunion. The claims and attitude of the Latin Church are examined with special care. There are also some very good things said on such topics as Authority in Religion, the Bible in relation to Authority, Race Influence and Religion, Churches and Races, &c.

Everything that comes from the pen of the late lamented Dean Church is sure of a hearty welcome, and is certain both to please and to instruct. We are glad to have his admirable volume on *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*[2] in the attractive *Eversley Series*. Published originally in the *Epochs of Modern History Series*, it soon attained a wide acceptance, and deservedly so. It has all the best characteristics of the Dean's genius.

The Rev. J. M. Gibbon publishes a volume of *Pulpit Discourses*,[3]

[1] Some Thoughts on Christian Reunion. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895. Cr. 8vo, pp. 222. Price, 3s. 6d.

[2] London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxii. 269. Price, 5s.

[3] London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 184. Price, 4s. 6d.

all pointed, vivid, and edifying. The book contains half-a-dozen sermons for adults on such subjects as the Image of God, the question whether all men are immortal, etc.; four expositions on Amos and other topics; and seven attractive addresses to children.

Mr R. Somervell, M.A., Assistant Master and Bursar of Harrow School, has prepared a very useful *Parallel History of the Jewish Monarchy.*[1] The second part is to hand, embracing the period of the Divided Monarchy. It is given according to the text of the Revised Version, and is preceded by a reprint of the section of Canon Driver's Literature of the Old Testament, which deals with the additional matter in Chronicles. A Chronological Table is also given. The whole book is done with care, and is likely to be of real use to students.

Under the title of *The Gospel of Common Sense,*[2] Dr Charles F. Deems, pastor of the Church of the Strangers, New York, gives a series of twelve studies on the Epistle of James, all of a plain, practical order, dealing in a vigorous and intelligent way with the principles of things and the working rules for the conduct of ordinary daily life.

The Christ in Man, or the Indwelling Christ,[3] is the title given to a small volume which attempts to "present the doctrine of the Divine Immanence from a Christological Standpoint." The author's object is to show that "the essential thing in religious experience is the revelation of the Inward Christ," to explain what that involves, and to unfold how it is realised. There are things in the book to which exception may easily be taken; but as a whole it is written, not only in a profoundly reverent spirit, but in a way indicating insight into some of the most practical relations of Christian truth, and some of the deepest passages in Christian experience.

Students of Apocalyptic literature will turn with eager expectation to *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch.*[4] This book is of importance in more than one line of inquiry. Those interested in the study of the origins of Christianity, in questions of Assyriology, in the history of Exegesis, will all find something to their hand in it. Its story is a singular one. For "more than 1200 years," we learn, "it has been unknown, save in Russia, where acquaintance with it goes several centuries back." It was "never known by its

[1] London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 8vo, pp. 114. Price, 2s.

[2] Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 322. Price, 5s.

[3] Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 178. Price, 2s. 6d.

[4] Translated from the Slavonic by W. R. Morfill, M.A., Reader in Russian and the other Slavonic Languages; and Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by R. H. Charles, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1896. 8vo, pp. xlviii. 100. Price, 7s. 6d.

present name in any literature save the Slavonic." Even in it the name seems not to have been always applied to it. It appears to have been referred to largely under the general title of *Enoch*. Its independence was thus lost sight of, and it was confused with the *Book of Enoch*. In 1892 a writer in a German Journal noticed the existence of what he took to be a Slavonic version of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. This led to its identification, Mr Morfill making it clear that it was a distinct and independent product of the pseudepigraphic genius. So recently has it come to be known in Western Europe.

The difficulties of editing and publishing the book have been great. Our thanks are all the more due to Messrs Morfill and Charles for this handsome and useful *editio princeps*. A full account is furnished of the history of the book and its manuscripts. The questions of language, place of writing, and the like are thoroughly considered. The conclusion reached is that the main part was written originally in Greek at Alexandria, while some sections were written probably in Hebrew in Palestine. The relation in which the book stands to early Jewish and Christian literature, to the Book of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypse of Moses, the Apocalypse of Paul, etc., is also examined with all due care.

It is a remarkable fact that a book which is known to have been widely read in the first three Christian centuries, and to have exercised an influence which must have been considerable, passed so completely out of sight in Western Europe for so long a period. It is in many respects an interesting section of the curious literature which was once so abundant and so popular under the name of the man who "walked with God." It has much that is of importance for the history of ideas, the "Seven Heavens," for example, the Seraphim, the Thousand Years, etc. In providing us with this scholarly edition and translation Messrs Morfill and Charles have done us a great service.

Mrs Lewis has added to the obligations under which her previous labours and discoveries have placed us by publishing the handsome volume entitled, *Some Pages of the Four Gospels retranslated from the Sinaitic Palimpsest; with a Translation of the whole Text.*[1]

The Syriac Palimpsest containing the text of the now famous Lewis Gospels was discovered, as is well-known, by Mrs Lewis, in the Convent of St Katharine on Mount Sinai in 1892, and transcribed by Professor Bensley, Mr J. Rendel Harris, and Mr F. C. Burkitt in 1893 during her second journey. A third journey was undertaken in 1895 along with Mrs Gibson, the effect of which was to clear up some things which had remained doubtful, and to obtain

[1] By Agnes Smith Lewis. London: Clay & Sons, 1896. 4to, pp. xxiii. 144 and 139. Price, 10s. 6d.

some additional matter. In the light of these fresh results, the whole Codex is translated anew. The reprint has some pages of addenda and supplies not a little in which the previous issue was defective. The new parts of the text show, however, the same general characteristics as the former portions—the same general conciseness, occasional neglect of copulas, and disposition to add small graphic touches. A list of the more important variations is furnished, along with appropriate discussions of the age of the MS., the version it represents, etc. The text is taken to be not later than the beginning of the fifth or the end of the sixth century. The imputation of heretical influence is discarded. The accounts of the Nativity are held to be homogeneous, and the miraculous conception to be presupposed.

Dr Frank Granger, Professor in University College, Nottingham, writes on *The Worship of the Romans viewed in relation to the Roman Temperament.*[1] The plan of the volume is good, and it is ably carried out. The book opens with an excellent chapter on the *Roman Spirit*, and proceeds to discuss in succession the questions of Dreams and Apparitions, the Soul and its Companions, the World Around, Nature Worship, Primitive Thought, Roman Magic, Divination and Prophecy, the Primitive Idea of Holiness, Holy Places, the Divine Victim, and the Sacred Drama. Under each of these topics we have much interesting matter well arranged. Abundant use is made of the methods and results of the study of folk-lore, and modern parallels to ancient customs and beliefs are introduced as often as possible. The least successful part of the volume, perhaps, is that which deals with the soul and the existence after death. That is less complete than it might easily have been. As a study of beliefs and practices most intimately related to the religion of Rome, in their mutual relations, their place in the organic structure of mental life, their growth, and their transition from one stage to another, the book is ably written and will be read with profit. The student of Latin literature will find much that will be helpful to him, and that is not provided in the ordinary class of books to which he turns for light on Roman life and literature.

Mrs Gibson furnishes an important addition to the series of *Studia Sinaitic* in her edition of certain Apocryphal books.[2] The volume includes the Anaphora Pilati in three recensions; the Recognitions of Clement in two recensions; the Martyrdom of Clement; the Preaching of Peter; the Martyrdom of James, son of Alphaeus; the Preaching of Simon, the son of Cleophas, in

[1] London: Methuen & Co., 1895. Cr. 8vo., pp. ix. 313. Price, 6s.

[2] Studia Sinaitica, No. V., Apocrypha Sinaitica. Edited and translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S. London: Clay & Sons. 4to, pp. xx. 66, with texts. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

Arabic. The volume represents a wealth of labour, which places at our disposal some of the most curious and also most important pieces of the old Apocryphal literature in a very serviceable form. All that is most required is also given in the statement of literary and critical questions. The book is in every sense a scholarly and reliable edition.

Professor William James of Harvard, the author of *The Principles of Psychology*, sends a small, but acute, piquant, and readable book on the question, *Is Life Worth Living?*[1]

We cannot say that Mr Latham's exposition of the Book of *Revelation*[2] is successful. He gives both an original translation and a Commentary. Neither is very good. The translation is marred by the mistaken endeavour to "preserve the precise English equivalents of the Greek Text." The Exegesis is often as far removed as may be from reasonable, historical interpretation. The book is not wholly of this kind. It is devout and painstaking, and has some just observations. But the writer has been betrayed into a forced manner of exegesis by the respect which he gives to a statement of Bishop Westcott's, that "in every syllable of the Bible there is a mystery."

An important addition to the Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher is being made by Professor H. J. Holtzmann in his *Handbook of New Testament Theology*.[3] The book is to be completed in twelve parts, of which the first is now to hand. An extended notice of it must be deferred till we have a complete section before us. As it comes to us, indeed, it is difficult to judge of it properly, the curious plan being adopted of giving in the one *Lieferung* portions both of the first half and of the second half of the work. We have, therefore, first the *Einleitung*, which goes over the usual ground, and also a part of the first chapter which discusses later Judaism, Pharisaism, Sadduceeism, &c. But along with this we get also part of the section on Paulinism, with discussions of Paul's Anthropology, his doctrines of the Law, Sin, the Wrath of God, &c.

We are indebted to the Rev. Arthur Wright, of Queen's College, Cambridge, for a large, admirably printed, and astonishingly cheap volume, which should be of much use to students of the New Testament, viz.—*A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek after the Westcott and Hort Text.*[4] It is intended to "assist beginners in the

[1] Philadelphia: Burns Weston, 1896. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 63.

[2] The Revelation of St John the Divine. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo. Price, 7s. 6d.

[3] Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie. Erste Lieferung. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1896. Large 8vo, pp. 48. Price, M.1.50.

[4] London: Macmillan & Co., 1896. 4to, pp. xv. 168. Price, 6s. net.

critical study of the Gospels," but also to serve as a book of reference to be used by "more advanced students who wish to avail themselves of modern methods." It will amply fulfil both purposes. Mr Wright proceeds on the basis of the oral hypothesis, of the truth of which he is convinced. But he follows an independent course. He analyses the Gospels into what he believes to be their primitive sources. He divides these sources also "into sections, and the speeches contained in them into paragraphs." He goes in the main with those who think that Mark's Gospel corresponds on the whole to St Peter's Memoirs, and that St Mark was unacquainted with St Matthew's Logia. He believes that if Mark had known Matthew's Logia he would probably have "transcribed the whole of them," and he cannot understand a principle of selection which "gave at full length the tragedy of the Baptist's murder (Mark vi. 17-29), but deliberately omitted the Sermon on the Mount." He makes his first division consist of Mark's Gospel, and holds Mark and the Logia of Matthew to be the oldest sources. He concludes also that the Logia must have been a comparatively small collection. He places the well-defined group of Parables in Luke in a division by themselves, as not of the Logia, but "collected by a Pauline Christian for use in a Pauline Church." A number of fragments, which are usually supposed to belong to the Logia, are taken by Mr Wright to be "recollections of private and unknown spectators," and these go into his fourth division; the Logia, as thus reduced, being made his second division. To these four he adds two subordinate divisions, one containing the first two chapters of Luke, with some other sections, and another containing the "editorial notes." We have also suggestive discussions of the omissions in the several Synoptists, the variations in order, &c. The general result of these painstaking studies is that Mark's Gospel is based on one source only, with a few editorial notes; Matthew's on two main sources, some fragments and some editorial notes; and Luke's on all the six sources. The book is an instructive addition to the good work formerly done by Mr Wright in his volume on "The Composition of the Four Gospels."

Dr G. S. Barrett, of Norwich, writes of *The Intermediate State and the Last Things.*[1] He asserts for the doctrine of the Intermediate State, "its own place in the Evangelical Creed," and his purpose is to define what that place is. With this object he examines not only the teaching of Scripture, but also the "witness of the Church as embodied in the great historic creeds of Christendom." He does not expect that his conclusions will be universally received, but he hopes they may "contribute, in some measure at least, to the determination of the grave problems involved in the

[1] London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo. 1896. Pp. vi. 275. Price, 5s.

future punishment of sin." As to Scripture, he admits the dimness of its intimations on his main subject, but builds to some extent on the Old Testament idea of Sheol, his treatment of which is lacking in precision. He builds also, and in larger measure, on certain words and suggestions of the New Testament,—Luke xvi. 23, Phil. i. 23, Rev. vi. 9, Eph. iv. 9, Luke xxiii. 43, Acts ii. 34, and more especially on 1 Peter iii. 18-20, iv. 6. Most of these debated passages, especially those in Peter's Epistles, are too slightly dealt with. Hints of the doctrine are also found in such passages as Phil. ii. 10, 11, Eph. i. 9, Col. i. 29. On the whole, the examination of the Biblical teaching, though it is conducted in a fair and entirely reverent spirit, is the least complete and satisfactory section of the book. The argument from reason is exhibited briefly, but with more point, and all through the book we come upon statements and criticisms which are of value. Dr Barrett objects to the Pre-Millenarian dogma, and gives good reason for so doing. As to the final future of the impenitent, he recognises fully the tendency of character to run into a fixed state. He admits also that the verdict of reason seems to point to the possibility of the endlessness of sin and the consequent endlessness of its punishment. But he thinks that reason has also another verdict. His conclusion is, on the whole, on the side of an antinomy as regards the gravest of all problems. He believes that there are two voices on this matter, both in Scripture and in reason, and that there are the best grounds for its being so. If the book errs by attempting to rise to more than Scripture clearly gives, it is yet a serious and reverent study, which cannot be read without profit.

A paper on *The Criticism of the Old Testament*, contributed some time ago to the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, by Professor A. Köhler of Erlangen, having occasioned considerable discussion, the writer has republished it in separate form, with an appendix in defence of his positions.[1] The publication is a notable one, in respect of the freedom which it claims, from the side of orthodox Confessional Lutheranism, in matters of criticism. Professor Köhler is emphatic in his assertion of a wider liberty than many of those who are of the same ecclesiastical school with him allow. In some respects he occupies a more advanced position than his friend and master, the late Franz Delitzsch, and speaks with refreshing candour of the folly of attempting to set limits to the historical and critical study of Scripture.

Two additions are made to the series of *Bible Class Primers*, both by writers intimately acquainted with their respective subjects, and

[1] Ueber Berechtigung der Kritik des Alten Testamentes. Erlangen u. Leipzig: Deichert. 8vo, pp. 68. Price, M.1.

both well suited for use by those for whom they are specially intended, viz.—the Rev. Dr C. G. M'Crie's *The Free Church of Scotland: her Ancestry, her Claims, and her Conflicts*,[1] and the Rev. T. B. Kilpatrick's *Christian Character; a Study of New Testament Morality*.[2]

Among smaller publications we have also to notice these:—*Religion from the Mystic Standpoint*, by the Rev. R. W. Corbet, M.A.;[3] an attractive sketch of *David Livingstone*, by B. K. Gregory;[4] the interesting series of publications issued by the Directors of the *Old South Studies in History*, Boston, of which the sixty-fifth contains *Washington's Addresses to the Churches*; a cheap edition of Mr Edward Walter Haines's, *The Lord's Supper*;[5] a sympathetic estimate of Professor Dillmann, by one most competent to speak of him and his work;[6] a second edition of Professor Martin Kähler's vigorous brochure, *Unser Streit um die Bibel*;[7] a third edition of Canon Linton's *Christ in the Old Testament*;[8] a treatise by Otto Ritschl on the origin and meaning of *Werthurthiele*,[9] in which the idea and the use of the term are traced back in part to Luther and in part to Kant, and the question of the value of the knowledge which the term has in view is carefully considered; a brief Lecture by Professor W. Lütgert of Greifswald on *Faith*,[10] and its relation to historical fact, to experience, and to theological science; three addresses by Professor Valeton of Utrecht,[11] containing some fine observations on the *Importance of the Study of the Old Testament for Preachers*, the *Position of the Prophets in the Religion of Israel*, and the *Essence of the Religion of Israel*; a short but careful and instructive treatise, by Professor Ernst Cremer of Marburg, on the *Forgiveness of Sin*,[12] a study in Biblical Theology; some acute exegetical and critical studies by Dr J. Cramer, of

[1] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 24mo, pp. 117. Price, 6d. and 8d.

[2] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 24mo, pp. 124. Price, 6d. and 8d.

[3] London: Elliot Stock. 1896. Pp. 16. Price, 6d.

[4] The *Story of David Livingstone*. London: The Sunday-School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 144. Price, 1s.

[5] *Is it a Memorial or Something else?* London: Elliot Stock. Pp. 105.

[6] August Dillman. Von Wolf Wilhelm Grafen Baudissin. Leipzig: Hirzel; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 30.

[7] Leipzig: Deichert. 1895. Cr. 8vo, pp. 78. Price, M.1.25.

[8] London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 270.

[9] Ueber Werthurtheile. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 35.

[10] Glaube und Heilsgeschichte. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. 32.

[11] Vergängliches und Ewiges im Alten Testament. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard. 8vo, pp. 47.

[12] Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. 61.

Utrecht, on 1 Cor. x. 1-5, xii. 11-14, and Acts xviii. 22, xix. 21-22;[1] a discourse on the historico-critical method of exegesis, by Professor Johannes Gottschick of Tübingen;[2] a suggestive Lecture on *Das Christenthum und die Geschichte*,[3] in which Professor Adolf Harnack exhibits the more positive and conservative side of his teaching in relation to the historical facts which form the foundation of Christianity; a curious book in defence of the Jews, with some overdrawn and even repulsive things in it, by John Vickers, *The Crucifixion Mystery; a Review of the Great Charge against the Jews*;[4] a volume of Sermons, in the *Life Indeed* series, entitled *Laws and Landmarks of the Spiritual Life*,[5] by William A. Gray—thoughtful, earnest, well-expressed, and altogether of a high order, dealing with the *Laws of the Higher Vision, Simplicity, Circumspection, Protection, Increase, Charity, Reverence, Hope*, and subjects of like practical moment; another attempt to harmonise the Creation-record in Genesis with the results of Modern Science, by S. J. L., a modest book, giving first, a general indication of the correspondence between each Scriptural statement and scientific fact, and then discussing more in detail certain matters which could not be worked into the argument without the risk of confusion;[6] a volume by Robert Shiells on *The Story of the Token as belonging to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*,[7] full of curious matter, interesting especially to Scotch and American readers; an able defence of our Lord's supernatural birth,[8] in which the counter arguments drawn from the comparative silence of the records, the attitude of His neighbours and relations, and some of His own words are first met, and the objective and subjective grounds for the belief are next stated with force and good judgment; an interesting contribution to the history of the New Testament by Dr Paul Rohrbach,[9] written in the spirit of Professor Harnack's teaching, in which the disputed close of Mark's Gospel is examined with much acuteness in

[1] Exegetica et Critica, V. 1896. Utrecht: Breijer. 8vo, pp. 40.

[2] Die Bedeutung der historisch-kritischen Schriftforschung für die Evangelische Kirche. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 32.

[3] Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1895. 8vo, pp. 20. Price, M.0.50.

[4] London: Williams & Norgate. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 187.

[5] London: C. H. Kelly. Cr. 8vo, pp. 258. Price, 3s. 6d.

[6] The First Chapter of Genesis Justified by the Teachings of Modern Science. London: Nisbet & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 72. Price, 2s. 6d.

[7] New York: John Ireland. Small cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 170.

[8] Für unser Bekenntniss "Geboren von der Jungfrau." Von Ad. Lichtenstein. 1896. Berlin: Wiegandt & Grieben. 8vo, pp. 59.

[9] Der Schluss des Markus-evangeliums, der Vier-Evangelischen Kanon, und die Kleinasiatischen Presbyter. Berlin: Nauck. Cr. 8vo, pp. 66. Price, M.1.20.

the light of the new turn given to the question by Mr Conybeare's discovery of the subscription, "by the Presbyter Ariston," in an Armenian MS. of the ninth century.

We have to report the appearance of a new German Magazine, devoted to matters of Worship and Ecclesiastical Art—the *Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und Kirchliche Kunst.* The publishers are Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht of Göttingen. The editors are the two well-known Strassburg Professors, Dr Friedrich Spitta and Dr Julius Smend.

Among other books which have come too late for review in the present issue, we may mention the fifth edition of Professor Hermann Schultz's *Alttestamentliche Theologie,*[1] and the *Life and Letters of Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., by his son, Arthur Fenton Hort.*[2]

Record of Select Literature.

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[1] Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. vi. 650. Price, M.10.40.

[2] London: Macmillan & Co. Extra cr. 8vo, 2 vols. Price, 17s. net.

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By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1896. *Cr.* 8*vo, pp. vii.* 370. *Price,* 4*s.* 6*d.*

We have found it hard, during the perusal of this volume, to keep our thoughts from straying from Bishop Butler to his critic. This was not the fault of Mr Gladstone, who maintains throughout the attitude of a humble disciple and interpreter of his favourite philosopher. There is, indeed, a marked absence in the present volume of those personal references in which Mr Gladstone has sometimes indulged in his later writings, greatly to the satisfaction of his readers. But notwithstanding this self-repression on the part of the writer, the reader finds it difficult to forget that the most eminent man of affairs of our time is here revealing his innermost thoughts and hopes regarding the ultimate issues of human destiny. Since the days of Burke no English statesman has done so much to elevate political life as the author of this volume. Burke enriched it by introducing into its discussions a profounder political philosophy; Mr Gladstone's chief contribution has been an unfaltering endeavour, in good and evil days, to make righteous action rather than profit or glory the supreme object of our national policy. In the present volume he describes Butler's view of life in the following terms:—

"All duty is to be regarded from a religious point of view, and all human life is charged with duty. Every movement which takes place in this unmeasured Universe has the Ruler of the Universe behind it. On all occasions, great and small, life is ever presenting to us problems of duty."

Such a view of human life, for it is assuredly his own as well as that of Butler, explains the immense moral magnetism which Mr Gladstone has exercised over the English people, with whom the language of religious idealism is always popular; perhaps it also explains those sudden fallings away from his leadership which have also marked his political career; for the English, like the Athenians, are apt to tire after a time of Aristides.

Having given during a long life a shining example of the fearless application of his principles to matters of public policy, at an age when most men care only for rest he has addressed himself to the not less arduous task of deepening and strengthening those principles in the minds of his fellow-countrymen. He has chosen the writings of Bishop Butler as his text-book, and as his text; for his papers are not merely learned studies on a philosophical classic;

they are to a greater degree a series of persuasive exhortations to cling to the sober, righteous and religious view of life, which it was the aim of Butler to recommend.

Butler cannot be placed in the front rank of English philosophers, if rank is made to depend upon extent of influence. His name is almost unknown outside English-speaking lands. It was his habit, as Mr Gladstone truly and quaintly says, to encamp near to the region of practice in all his philosophical enquiries. This banal and Philistine habit, as it was deemed by purely speculative thinkers, excluded him from Germany, the Fatherland of transcendental philosophy. In this country, although his writings used to be known to students from their place in Academic study, they gave little satisfaction to eager spirits in the first fervour of speculative thought. Those theologians, Catholic or Evangelical, who have invented for themselves an artificial certainty, by means of theories of Infallibility, naturally look down with scorn upon Butler's modest provision of probable evidence. Butler has, however, exercised a profound and lasting influence upon a class of Englishmen of whom Mr Gladstone may be taken as an eminent example. Too reflective not to perceive the difficulties of religious thought, and too sagacious to accept the solutions which pass muster with the multitude, they are nevertheless debarred by their religious temper from turning away from the supreme source of guidance and comfort open to man. To such men, Butler has often proved a most welcome helper; for in him they found those reserves and hesitations which they feel themselves constrained to make in an acceptance of the Christian Creed. In a fine chapter on his mental qualities, Butler's master passion is defined by Mr Gladstone as the love of truth. Following this as a satellite, there is an unceasing desire to keep faith with his reader; he is therefore careful never to carry the reader's mind an inch beyond what the facts of the case will warrant. This measure, as Mr Gladstone terms his moderation, wins for him an almost unbounded confidence from a certain class of readers. But while candour and caution are excellent qualities, they will not by themselves confer the philosophic character, although they may cause a man to turn away from philosophy. Did Butler possess philosophic genius? To this Mr Gladstone replies that he did possess, and that in a high degree, the power of upward flight, the philosophic imagination, although he only rarely permitted himself to employ that forward and delusive faculty. As it sometimes happens in life that men usually cautious are most successful in persuading others to adopt a bold resolve, the daring divinations of Butler are accepted by men who would distrust them if they came from a thinker usually less circumspect. "I confess," writes Mr Gladstone, "the comparative

security and satisfaction with which I follow the steps of Butler on the rare occasions when he speculates, as comparing him with other speculators. I feel like one resting on the wings of a great and strong bird, when it takes an excursion in mid-air, and is felt to mount as easily as it will descend."

In a chapter on Butler's censors a number of writers of distinction are passed in review who have with more or less emphasis questioned the abiding value of Butler's contribution to religious thought. The list begins with Mr Bagehot, who denied that it was probable that Revelation would contain difficulties of a like kind with Nature, adding, "We should have expected that it would explain those difficulties." The list ends with Mr Matthew Arnold, who spoke of the Analogy as for all real intents and purposes now a failure. Towards the censures passed on Butler Mr Gladstone shows small mercy; to the censors themselves, as his controversial manner ever was, he is full of gracious courtesy not forgetting to mention their other claims to honour. Mr Matthew Arnold evidently tried his temper most severely, and he finds in his criticisms, carelessness, levity and an ungovernable bias towards finding fault. But he concludes with the following characteristic sentence: "It is well for him that all those censures can do is to effect some deduction from the fame which has been earned by him in other fields, as a true man, a searching and sagacious literary critic, and a poet of genuine creative power." There is a slight tendency in this chapter, we think, to overdo advocacy, and to admit, if at all, with unnecessary reluctance, that Butler had the defects of his qualities, and that his religious influence is narrowed by the limitations of the special mission he imposed upon himself. An ingenious attempt is made to throw doubt upon the authenticity of the saying ascribed, in the Life of Wilberforce, to the younger Pitt, to the effect that the Analogy raised more doubts in his mind than they solved. According to the story as it stands in Wilberforce's Diary, Pitt on the 24th November, 1785, recommended to Wilberforce Butler's Analogy, as he knew that the latter was occupied with religious thoughts. In consequence of Pitt's remark, Wilberforce wrote to him opening his mind to him, and detailing the spiritual crisis through which he had recently passed, which led to his open profession of evangelical opinions. On the 3d of December Pitt again called, and then endeavoured to reason Wilberforce out of his convictions; in the course of the conversation he is reported to have said that Butler's Analogy raised more doubts in his mind than they solved. Mr Gladstone maintains that it is incredible that Pitt should have commended the Analogy on the 24th of November, and have condemned it by implication on the 3rd of December. But on the

second occasion Pitt was endeavouring to reason Wilberforce out of his convictions, and probably warding off urgent appeals directed towards himself. In these circumstances, the remark was pertinent that the work of the greatest English Apologist had not brought to his mind complete conviction. While the legitimate tendency of Butler's works is neither towards Atheism, nor towards Agnosticism as Professor Huxley maintained, it may easily happen that they will raise a number of doubts, and for the first time, in minds unfamiliar with religious questions. But Butler, like all Apologists, was writing for the sceptic, or for those disposed to scepticism.

Many of the criticisms passed on Butler err through a forgetfulness of the special work which he placed before himself. The work of an Apologist, according to Butler, was to prove that it was no sacrifice of the intellect to give heed to religion. There existed such evidence in its favour as rational men might regard as sufficient, and such as would be considered sufficient in other matters. It was not the work of the Apologist, as Butler understood it, to bring religious truth into the hearts and affections of men. But the importance he gave to External Religion in a well-known *Charge* which he delivered to his clergy, which gave rise to ridiculous calumnies, makes it plain that he was not insensible to the need of appealing to men in other ways than through arguments addressed to the intellect.

An important section of the *Studies* is devoted to a consideration of the subjects of the future life. It receives more attention in Mr Gladstone's volume than its place in the works of Butler calls for; Mr Gladstone, however, justifies his procedure by the remark that the condition of men after death is a portion of divine truth which appears to be silently passing out of view, so that we are in danger of losing it altogether. Two chapters are given to the history of opinion on the subject, in the times of the Old Testament, and within the Christian Church. The latter is full of interest and instruction. With a learning which a professional theologian might envy, Mr Gladstone writes of Fathers and Councils, and carries us down to the amiable opportunist Dr Thomas Burnet, who wrote "Quicquid apud te statuas, intus et in pectore, de his pænis, æternis vel non, recepta doctrina verbisque utendum est cum populo, et cum peroratur ad vulgus." The account given of the state of opinion in Old Testament times is in our judgment less satisfactory. Mr Gladstone formally abjures the dogma of verbal inspiration, but the habit of mind engendered by that dogma adheres to him. He does not, we venture to think, give sufficient weight to the changes which historical science has made in our views regarding the age of the

Old Testament books. For example, he places the book of Job in a period of great though uncertain antiquity, representing human tradition beyond the limits of the chosen people. We doubt if any serious scholar would now regard the book of Job as having arisen outside Israel, or would place it earlier than the age of Solomon, while most would place it in the days of the Exile. The whole chapter is marred by the haunting presence of the theory that the whole of mankind received a primeval Revelation, and that they subsequently abandoned it for idolatry. We would desire to speak with all deference, for Mr Gladstone does not, we are aware, adhere to the traditional theory without having fully considered it; but to us the results of all recent investigations into the history of religion and morals point to a generally upward, and not to a downward course of movement.

Mr Gladstone's criticisms on the theories in vogue regarding the future destiny of the wicked are conceived in the spirit of reverent caution befitting a mysterious subject. He rejects the theory of Universalism with which the great name of Origen is associated, because it is contrary to Scripture. Neither does he recommend the modern theory of conditional immortality with which no great name is associated, and which seems to have been invented for temporary use, by certain evangelical preachers who desired to employ the language of Scripture while departing from its teaching. The general criticism passed upon modern schemes is undoubtedly just, that they have been simply revolts against the idea of the sinner bearing the consequences of his sin; while no scheme can fit into our conception of moral government which does not give hopes of the abolishing of sin itself if the penalty is to be abolished. Mr Gladstone connects his own theory with a remarkable speculation of Butler's, who says that it is conceivable that virtue in some distant scenes and periods may so display itself among virtuous orders of creatures, and being seen by orders of vicious creatures throughout the universal kingdom of God, it may have a tendency by example, and possibly by other ways, to amend those of them who are capable of amendment. Mr Gladstone limits the application of this theory to the intermediate state, and he maintains that we cannot consistently with Scripture suppose that a second probation is granted, even in the intermediate state, to Christian men whose probation season is the present life. He thinks, however, that we may indulge the hope that many who depart this life in a condition which human judgment must regard as equivocal, may yet have the root of the matter in them, and may finally find mercy with God. The following are his words:—

"These suppositions of Butler are no more than an extension of

the rational and philosophical belief which the greater part of the Christian Church has always held respecting the laws which govern the condition of the believing dead. The Church has walked in the path opened for it by St Paul through his prayer on behalf of Onesiphorus. It has condemned our accepting what is termed a sleep of the soul; a speculation amounting to a suspension of human existence, and alike at variance with Scripture, which describes active enjoyments and even sufferings of the dead, and with reason, which exhibits to us our nature as constituted with a view to discipline and advance through the prolongation of existence, and through the action it entails. The Christian dead, then, are in a progressive state; and the appointed office of the interval between death and resurrection is reasonably believed to be the corroboration of every good and holy habit, and the effacement of all remains of human infirmity and vice. The extension suggested by Butler amounts to this: that, while the view of the Church in general only extends to those who have before death given evidence of repentance and faith such as the human eye can reasonably appreciate; still, as he suggests, where this evidence falls short, the root of the matter may be there notwithstanding, and the Almighty may reserve to his own jurisdiction the development necessary to cover both the ground which a more palpable sanctification had in other cases visibly secured anterior to death, and that remainder of progress generally reserved for accomplishment hereafter, even by souls of a clearly manifested faithfulness to their Lord" (p. 253). No fault can be found with this, or with similar views, if they are offered simply as *pia desideria*, and are couched in such modest and reverential language. We fail to see, however, if we are permitted to hope at all, why we should not give to our hope the wider scope given to it by Butler, and why we should deny a possible probation beyond the grave even for unworthy Christians, as we must certainly regard such probation as possible for the great majority of mankind if we are to entertain regarding those who have not heard the Gospel any hope of their being sharers in the Christian salvation. The whole subject, however, is one that calls for silence rather than for speech; and we heartily share Mr Gladstone's dislike of the vulgar pictures of the pains of hell, as well as of the voluble and unauthorised remission of penalty pronounced by certain modern teachers. The few glimpses given in Scripture into the other world, shows us the righteous in a condition of felicity, and the wicked in woe. Here we must leave the question: to attempt to lift the veil further and peer into what we call eternity, is a futile task for men whose powers of thinking are conditioned by their finite nature.

Mr Gladstone's volume contains a number of chapters on which

we have not touched. Determinism, Teleology and Miracle are all discussed. The language is always grave, sober, and well considered; but there is withal an almost youthful freshness of interest on the part of the writer in the subjects discussed, which makes the reader quite forget that he is perusing the work of one who is far advanced in the winter of life. JOHN GIBB.

A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom.

By Andrew Dickson White, late President and Professor of History at Cornell University. 2 *vols.* 8*vo, pp.* 889. *London: Macmillans,* 1896. *Price,* 21*s.*

THE conflict between those who have claimed to be the official exponents of Theology and the pioneers of scientific progress has been the theme of so many treatises and essays that the subject has been worn almost threadbare, and yet it has seldom been treated in other than a partisan spirit. One section of its historians has been specially concerned with the portrayal of the tyranny of creeds, others in denouncing the assumption of science, while such incidents in the warfare as the oft-told tale of Galileo have been used as elements in sectarian controversy to discredit one section of the Church.

In this respect Dr White's history contrasts favourably with most of its predecessors. The author has a judicial mind, and has made his theme the subject of a prolonged and careful study; and he is unusually successful in accomplishing the difficult task of holding the balance evenly in his treatment of the many vexed controversies which form the materials of his monograph. His work is much more satisfactory than that of his fellow-countryman Prof. Draper. For as Dr White points out, the polemic has not been between science and religion, as Draper has assumed, but between the supporters of theological dogmata on the one hand, and those who propounded scientific hypotheses which were supposed to be incompatible with the dogmata. An amendment of title might be suggested on a ground similar to that on which our author criticises the name of Dr Draper's book. The warfare has really been between science and dogma; for as far as our knowledge of the subject-matter of religion is truly theology, it is itself scientific and cannot conflict with its sister sciences.

The arrangement adopted is ingenious and suggestive, the twenty chapters record twenty episodes in the conflict in which the victory of science has made for the progress of the race. These are named

appropriately :—"From Creation to Evolution," "From Signs and Wonders to Law in the Heavens," "From Genesis to Geology," "From the Prince of the Power of the Air to Meteorology," "From Magic to Chemistry," "From Miracles to Medicine," "From Fetich to Hygiene," "From Diabolism to Hysteria," ending with a chapter "From the Divine Oracles to the Higher Criticism."

This method of treatment is open to one serious objection. The starting point in each controversy really represents the universal belief of mankind, heathen and Christian alike, in the pre-scientific age, and the earlier dogmatists and Christian writers are scarcely to be blamed for adopting such views in the absence of any evidence to the contrary. Progress in scientific research has been slow, and in the early days of each "epoch-making" discovery, while the superstructure of theory built upon it has been intelligible to those engaged in kindred research, the evidence has often been such as did not appeal to any but experts, and the reasoning by which such theories were sustained was often of a kind whose cogency could not be realised by those outside the pale of scientific workers. The unwillingness to change avowed belief when change implies a confession of previous error, has not been confined to Christian writers, but is a common characteristic of humanity, especially of that section which happens to be in power; and the history of philosophy furnishes us with many instances in which the supporters of dogma, non-Christian as well as Christian, have been equally opposed to submit to criticism, and equally ready to use all available means in support of received opinion and against innovation. Dr White does not, however, mean to be unfair to Christianity. These defects are inherent in the limitation which his method imposes on the field of research. It is easy to see throughout that all his sympathies are in favour of the science and against the dogmatism, but he endeavours, and generally succeeds, in fairly stating the case of the discredited competitor.

The work is the product of a careful and laborious study. Dr White has evidently examined the historical materials at first hand and with minute care, and he has appended to each section a valuable and exhaustive biography, which errs only on the side of being rather discursive and including books which bear very little on the subject. In the text the author has made singularly few slips, considering the enormous mass of material with which he deals, and these are usually in unimportant matters of detail. Thus he calls the Andrias Scheuchzeri a fossil lizard on p. 228, and he gives the date of the finding of the Cannstadt skull as 1835, on p. 281, although he corrects this later on p. 290. Several other trivial oversights of this kind might be quoted.

It is impossible in the compass of a short review to refer to the great host of controversies whose records are in general so fully given. Some chapters, such as those dealing with the conflict of medical science with mediæval superstition (xiii., xiv., xv.), are not up to the level of those which precede them, and seem to show signs of haste in their composition, but a layman may well be excused for hesitating to tackle the scattered and heterogeneous literature out of which the history of the early struggles of medicine is to be gathered, when scholars such as Sprengel, Portal and Baas have not always succeeded in grappling with the subject in a manner wholly satisfactory. The history of medicine from the third to the fourteenth centuries has yet to be written.

Dr White's fundamental thesis, which these historical sketches are used to illustrate, is that, "in all modern history, interference with science in the supposed interest of religion, no matter how conscientious such interference may have been, has resulted in the direst evils both to religion and science, and invariably: and on the other hand, all untrammelled scientific investigation, no matter how dangerous to religion some of its stages may have seemed for the time to be, has invariably resulted in the highest good both of religion and of science." To this thesis most scientific men and most present-day theologians alike will heartily subscribe.

Most of the controversies referred to in this work are now dead, and are only interesting as matters of history. Science has triumphed over a baseless dogmatism whose spring was in prehistoric superstition rather than in Christian teaching. In the last section, however, Dr White leaves the domain of science, and treats of some points which physical science cannot touch, such as the Incarnation and miraculous birth of our Lord. He considers that the revisers, by deleting the spurious verse of the three witnesses and the word "God" in 1 Tim. iii. 16, have removed the evidence of the former; and by the change in Luke ii. 33 have given up the argument for the latter doctrine. The higher criticism, he believes, "has disengaged as the only valuable residuum the personality, spirit, teaching and ideals of the Blessed Founder of Christianity." But as, according to his view, all the miracles of Christ, His claims and His resurrection, have been legends which have grown luxuriantly around the nucleus of history, the residual element of the Gospel will be of very small dimensions.

From the conflict there emerges, according to Dr White, a residual religion, "in which the Fatherhood of God overarches all, and the brotherhood of man permeates all,"—a religion which consists of a feeling of reverence for a power behind that inexorable system of laws, according to which eternal matter has undergone those evolutionary processes of which we are the transitory products. Such a

feeling cannot rise to love, for there is no personal dealing between the individual and the great Unknown. In this religion there is no scope for prayer and no room for faith.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

Woman under Monasticism: Chapters on Saint Lore and Convent Life, between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1500.

By Lina Eckenstein. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1896. *Roy.* 8*vo, pp.* 512. *Price,* 15*s.*

THIS work is one of genuine scholarship and much interest. It is written not from a controversial but from a purely scientific standpoint; it is neither a defence of monasticism in the abstract, nor an attack upon it. Its great value lies in the fact that it presents us with a very large amount of important information with regard to the character of monastic life among women in the Middle Ages, and that it enables us to understand, better than we have done before, the part played by these monastic institutions in the life of women in the Middle Ages. Miss Eckenstein has attempted, that is, to do for the monastic system, as it relates to women, that which has been partially done for the monastic system in general by other writers; to estimate the social as distinguished from the religious forces, which favoured its growth, and the functions which the monasteries of women performed in the social life of northern Mediæval Europe.

Miss Eckenstein does not attempt to discuss fully the religious impulses which found satisfaction in monastic life, she does not treat of the mediæval theories of asceticism, nor does she attempt to give any detailed account of the religious features of monastic life. She feels assured, as I understand her, and the correctness of her view cannot well be doubted, that besides the religious impulses and theories which formed the life of the nun, there were powerful social causes which favoured, for many centuries, that form of life; and that, besides the satisfaction of the religious needs of the community, the monasteries played an important part in the general life of the society of Western Europe in the Middle Ages.

This work cannot therefore be regarded, nor is it intended, as a complete account of the monastic life of women. To omit the religious character of this life, is to omit its most important feature; the time has passed when it would have been considered possible to omit the history of religion, in considering the history of society. But what is thus lost in Miss Eckenstein's work in completeness, is

partly made up for by the fact that the omission enables the author to pass lightly over those parts of religious history, which still unfortunately stir the embers of controversy.

Miss Eckenstein, as I understand her, finds that one great social impulse to the monastic life of women was given by the desire to regain some of that personal independence of women which she thinks, no doubt rightly, was tending to disappear at the time when the Teutonic races overran the Empire. I have some doubt whether this part of Miss Eckenstein's work has received that amount of critical consideration which she has given to the main bulk of it. She has, I think, assumed somewhat hastily the conclusiveness of the evidence pointing to a matriarchal stage of society among the Teutonic races, and she is therefore, as it appears to me, a little more confident than the facts warrant, in thinking that the liberty and authority of women were declining among these races when they appear in history. But however this may be, Miss Eckenstein is right, I think, in supposing that the appearance of the Teutonic races in civilized Europe coincides with a period in which women lost much of that personal freedom which they had possessed under the Empire. It is of course well known that, under the later Republic and the Empire, women had attained a degree of freedom of person and property which has only recently been again equalled. This liberty disappears with the decay of the Western Empire: how far this was due to the influence of Semitic conceptions which clung to Christianity, how far to the traditions of Teutonic races, how far to a variety of other causes not yet ascertained or classified, is an interesting and important question. But the recollections of this liberty which must have survived in the West, even after the barbarians had overrun the Roman civilization, may very well have served to give a great impulse to the monastic life of women, in which, as Miss Eckenstein has very admirably shown, they recovered much of that personal independence and social importance which they were losing in general life.

This part of the subject is traced through a very careful examination of the history of the early monasteries for women among the Franks and Anglo-Saxons from the 6th to the 8th centuries. Miss Eckenstein points out that during these ages the monasteries were for the greater part founded and governed by women of high and often of royal birth, who may well be supposed to have frequently chosen this life as giving them greater independence of position. We find these ladies, while living the religious life, often taking a very important part in public affairs, and at least constantly asserting their authority even in face of strong opposition from political rulers. It is easy enough to understand that the protection of their sacred calling enabled these ladies to regain much of that personal indepen-

dence which women, even of the highest rank, lost in those ages when the feudal system of society was growing up, and what is true of these, is true also in a measure of the humbler inmates of the monasteries. Their voluntary submission to a life devoted largely to religious observances, gave them in return opportunities of self-development, of dignity, and of education, which would not have come in their way in the life of the outer world.

And here we touch upon a second point of great interest in this work, its account of the part played by the monasteries in promoting education among women. Miss Eckenstein has brought out a fact which has hitherto met with little notice, that, during the earlier Middle Ages, the monastic life opened to women an education almost of the same character as that open to men in those times. She traces this through the centuries from the 6th to the 10th in a detailed investigation of the attainments and occupations of the nuns. She shews that they learned Latin, and studied not only the religious writers, but also whatever classical authors had survived. I cite a few examples from Miss Eckenstein. In the monastery established, through the influence of St Caesarius, Bishop of Arles, in that city, in the 6th century, all the inmates were instructed in "letters"; "omnes litteras discant" says the rule drawn up by St Caesarius for the nuns. In the 8th century we find St Boniface, the missionary of the Bishop of Rome in Germany, in constant correspondence with the Abbesses of various English houses. We find him requesting them to have copies of books, which he desired, prepared for him in their monasteries. We find from the letters of these ladies that they had the same capacity of writing in Latin which was possessed by the ecclesiastics. We hear of St Boniface's friend Lioba who, coming from England to help him in his work in Germany, became Abbess of Bischofsheim, as having studied "grammar and the other liberal arts," and as being well read in the Fathers and the laws of the Church. In the 10th century we find the nun Hrotswith of Gandersheim in Saxony, who is thought to have been acquainted with many of the classical authors known at that time, "such as Virgil, Lucan, Horace, Ovid, Terence, and perhaps Plautus," actually composing plays in imitation of Terence, only with the intention of enforcing moral lessons. The evidence which Miss Eckenstein has collected amply proves that the education of women in the monasteries was of the same kind as that accessible to men. It need not be supposed that the education given to the ordinary nun was of an advanced kind, but it is certainly a very noteworthy fact that the monasteries, during the earlier Middle Ages, could and did offer to women an education of a kind which was rarely open to them later, until quite recently. Miss Eckenstein points out that the decline of the higher educational functions of the

monasteries corresponds with the period when, with the rise of the universities in the twelfth century, the monasteries ceased to be the principal centres of education and learning in Western Europe. The universities in the Middle Ages were not accessible to women, and indeed the somewhat turbulent character of these great places of education, would in itself have made it difficult for women to frequent them. Women ceased then to receive education of the same kind as the most advanced open to men; the monasteries of women continued indeed to serve as places for the lower branches of instruction, but were no longer able to furnish the highest form of education; and, relatively at least, it would seem that the education of women declined.

I have said enough to show how much there is of importance in Miss Eckenstein's work. She also deals with the artistic work of the monasteries, and with their connection with philanthropic work; she has an interesting chapter on the mystical writings of St Hildegard of Bingen, and St Elizabeth of Schönau in the twelfth century. She has also an excellent and dispassionate account of the condition of the monasteries in the later Middle Ages, of the attempts at reform in the fifteenth century, and of the suppression of the monasteries in England and Germany at the Reformation. She does not add much to the evidence which has been collected, especially by Father Gasquet, but she states carefully the reasons which have led her to the view that, while the monasteries were in many ways changed, there is no sufficient ground for supposing that they were in a state of such profound corruption as has been attributed to them, especially in England, and we are left to the same conclusion as that derived from the critical work of Father Gasquet, that the evidence of Henry VIII.'s commissioners is historically of little value.

It may seem, from the points which I have noticed, that this work turns mainly upon a few matters, but in truth these are only a few out of many which suggest themselves from a consideration of the great mass of information which is brought together in this book. It only remains to add that Miss Eckenstein has carefully examined and estimated the value of the authorities which she has employed.

A. J. CARLYLE.

The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.

By Hastings Rashdall, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Hertford College, Oxford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1895. 2 *vols.* 8*vo, pp. xxvi.* 562, *and viii.* 832. *Price,* 45*s. net.*

IN these days of haste it is a treat to read this careful, learned, and judicious book on the Universities of Europe, which was issued last year by the Clarendon Press from the pen of Mr Rashdall.

Its usefulness and importance to all students of mediæval thought can hardly be over-estimated.

Mediævalism, as can scarcely be too often repeated, meant the rule of three dominant ideas representing State, Church, and Learning; and these ideas took concrete form and were never mere abstractions, although they were always ideals. "As all priestly power had its visible head and source in the city of the Seven Hills, as all secular authority was ultimately held of the Holy Roman Empire, so could all the streams of knowledge, by which the Universal Church was watered and fertilised, be ultimately traced as to their fountain-head to the great Universities, especially to the University of Paris."

The ideal of civil rule was embodied in the Holy Roman Empire, the conception of religion and all that belonged to its sphere in the Holy Catholic Church Visible; and in the same way all learning had its visible realisation in the mediæval University system. Mr Rashdall has made it his aim to trace the embodiment of this mediæval ideal of *Studium* in the University system of the Middle Ages in the same thoroughly scientific way that others have shown how the thoughts of *Imperium* and *Sacerdotium* found outcome in the Empire and in the Papacy.

Just because all mediæval learning was included under this general conception of University, a complete history of the Universities of the Middle Ages is a history of mediæval thought; of the literary culture of four centuries, "of the whole of the Scholastic Philosophy, of Scholastic Theology, of the revived study of Civil Law, of the formation and development of Canon Law, and of the faint, murky, cloud-wrapped dawn of modern Mathematics, modern Science and modern Medicine." All this is involved in the history of the mediæval conception of *Studium*, which embodied itself in the mediæval institution of the University. Such a subject is manifestly too extensive, and Mr Rashdall has had to limit himself to a study of the growth of the Institution, and has contented himself with compelling his readers to understand that the growth of the Institution must always be considered as enfolded in this wider environment. His "paramount object is to study the growth of the University as an Institution, to trace the origin of the various Universities, and to sketch the most important changes which passed over their form and spirit" from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

The word *Universitas* had, to begin with, no specially scholastic sense; it simply meant a plurality, an aggregate of persons, and was used of all kinds of corporations or guilds. The earliest word to denote the *thing* was *studium generale*, and, while the use of this phrase was somewhat vague, it commonly implied three char-

acteristics:—(1) That the school attracted, or at least invited, students from all parts, not merely those of a particular country or district; (2) That it was a place where at least one of the higher faculties—Theology, Law or Medicine—was taught; and (3) That such subjects were taught by at least a plurality of masters. The first of these ideas was the primary one, and a *studium generale* meant a place of learning of *general* resort. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, a fourth idea was somewhat vaguely added—That a Master who had acquired a right to teach in such a *studium* had the liberty, without further question, to teach anywhere else he pleased. All these characteristics were due more to recognised fact or custom than settled by authority or definite regulation. In the latter half of the thirteenth century, indeed, in the great strife between the Popes and the Hohenstaufen, the Emperor and the Pope both claimed the right to establish a *studium generale*, and complacent mediæval jurists were inclined to say that no seat of learning could claim to be a University that had not an Imperial or a Papal charter; but while the newer, and even most of the older Universities sought to establish their rights by procuring such charters, it may almost be laid down as a general principle, that unless these charters were given to Schools that would have succeeded without them they did not create Universities.

Mr Rashdall gives a table of no less than eighty Universities founded in the centuries from the twelfth to the fifteenth—twenty in Italy, eighteen in France, five in Great Britain, fifteen in Spain and Portugal, sixteen in Germany and in the Low Countries, and six in other European lands. All these have their own peculiarities, arising from local needs and national requirements, but "it becomes clear, as we compare Bologna with Paris, and Paris with Oxford and Prague, that the Universities of all countries and all ages are in reality adaptations, under various conditions, of one and the same institution." Hence our author confines his attention for the most part to the parent or typical Universities.

The three oldest Universities were those of Salerno, Bologna, and Paris; famed respectively for Medicine, Civil Law, and Theology. Mr Rashdall thinks that Salerno owed both its culture and its eminence in the study for which it was famous to the fact that South Italy was in these early centuries never entirely cut off from intercourse with Constantinople and Greek learning. The origin of both Bologna and Paris he traces to the wonderful revival of letters which was a striking fact of the twelfth century; and he gives interesting reasons why the same revival took the different lines it did in Italy and in France.

It is difficult to give anything like a precise date for the begin-

ning of the older Universities, for the reason that they were not created but grew. A little investigation, however, shows that legend has helped to give an entirely wrong idea of the great antiquity of the older Universities. It is quite impossible to accept the idea that King Alfred founded Oxford, that Paris dates from the Palace School of Charles the Great, or that Bologna had the mythical antiquity sometimes claimed for it. All these Universities, although there were schools and teachers there from a very early period, cannot lay real claim to the title until the twelfth century. Mr Rashdall assumes that, while the old Imperial learning never died out during the devastation of Europe by the Northmen so completely as some have supposed, it was kept alive by the Church, and mainly for ecclesiastical purposes; in the ninth and tenth centuries by the Benedictine monasteries, and in the eleventh century by the Cathedral schools; and that the trans-Alpine Universities, at least, are mostly sprung from these Cathedral schools.

The University, or *studium generale*, really begins when a corporation comes into existence, and the evidence for the actual existence of a University in opposition to the presence of adventure teachers is the formation of a corporation or guild.

The evidence shows that in Bologna the corporation first took the form of a students' guild, while in Paris the earliest corporation was a guild of teachers; in the former case the motive was the protection of foreign students residing within a mediæval Italian municipality with its harsh laws for aliens, while the motive in the latter was the protection of the teachers against the arbitrary regulations of the Chancellor of the Bishopric of Paris. In either case the rise of the Universities "is merely a wave of that great movement towards association which swept over the cities of Europe in the course of the eleventh century." In Bologna the movement resulted in the formation of several students' guilds, which were called Universities, each being intended to protect the students of a particular nationality. It seems probable that there were originally at least four corporations called Universities, and that these gradually gave way to two and then to one University, divided into several nations or student clubs for the protection of their members against the arbitrary enactments of the laws for aliens.

The mediæval University of Paris is the most important for the student of mediæval thought, and Mr Rashdall has shown great skill in disentangling its real history from the legends spun round it by its old historian Bulæus. It is undoubted that Paris was an educational centre from the days of Abelard, and that it was an outgrowth of the Cathedral school, but when and how the cor-

poration which became the University grew is the question which Mr Rashdall has set himself to study. The Cathedral school does not seem to have attained any great repute till the close of the eleventh century. Its first great master was William of Champeaux, the first Parisian teacher who left his mark on the scholastic philosophy. "It was the teaching of William's great pupil and opponent Abelard that first attracted students from all parts of Europe, and laid the foundation of that unique prestige which the schools of Paris retained throughout the mediæval period." But there is no trace of any organisation of the schools till very much later. The schools were completely under the control of the Church, and any member of the Church, from the Bishop or Abbot downwards, could gather students round him if he was capable.

The late Joseph Robertson showed, in an interesting monograph on the educational work of the Celtic Church, that when the Roman organisation superseded that of the Celtic Church in Scotland, the office of *Ferlanus*, or highest educational functionary, became merged in that of the Chancellor of the Scottish diocese, and we can trace, in the University of Aberdeen at least, the close connection between the continuous effort of the Cathedral clergy to provide higher education, and the rule of the Chancellor in educational matters. Mr Rashdall has shown the same thing at work in Paris. When the rapid spread of education produced an increasing number of Masters anxious to teach in connection with a well-known ecclesiastical centre, it became the custom of the Chancellor to grant formal permission to Masters to open school, for their own profit in the neighbourhood of the Church. When once this right to license became established, then, other circumstances being favourable, Masters multiplied, and "wherever Masters multiplied there naturally, in that age of association, grew up certain professional customs and unwritten laws which, in some cases, ere long crystallised into the statutes of an organised Guild or University."

The corporation or guild or University of Paris grew up under the aegis of the Chancellor's right to license teachers, and attained to maturity in attempts to defy the power to which at first it owed existence. The beginnings of this effort at independent corporate life are seen in the exercise of the power to *incept*. The idea of *inception* involved two distinct elements. The one came directly from Roman Law, and implied that formal entrance to the right to teach was by an actual instance of teaching. This custom can be traced widely. A Scotch judge to this day enters on his office by trying two cases and reporting his decision upon them before being sworn in as a member of the College of Justice; an English grammar school master in the 16th century entered on his

duties by flogging a boy "openlye in the scolys," on the principle that the child was spoiled if the rod was spared (he had to pay a groat to the bedel for the birch, and a groat to the boy "for his labour," one is thankful to learn); and an English clergyman still reads himself in. The second element consisted in the recognition of the newly-licensed teacher by his old master and by his colleagues —"his incorporation into the Society of teachers." It was this second element which, becoming gradually recognised, gave the fellowship of the Masters all the power of a guild or trades-union, and secured for it a monopoly of the trade of teaching. Their power grew through use and custom to be so strong that the corporation of Masters soon began to measure their strength against the Chancellor; appealed, sometimes successfully, often unsuccessfully, against him to the Pope, and out of the struggle the self-governing corporation or University arose. All this has been traced with careful scholarship by Mr Rashdall, and the student of mediæval times cannot be too grateful to him for his patient researches.

Space forbids our following Mr Rashdall as he traces the reduction of the unwritten customs of the guild of Masters to written statutes, the growth of the right to sue and to be sued as a corporation, the appointment of permanent officers, and the use of a common seal; nor can we show how he traces the rise of the *nations*, the institution of a rector and of proctors; the first notices of the faculties, with their deans. These were all in existence before the close of the 13th century.

We must not pass over, however, what is perhaps the most interesting portion of the history of the University of Paris—the struggle between the corporation of Masters and the teachers of the great Mendicant orders. The 13th century witnessed the beginnings and marvellous growth of two new monastic orders;—the one, founded by St Dominic was from the first meant to lay hold on the rising intellectual life of Europe, and, therefore, could not avoid seeking to establish itself at the most important seats of learning: the second, founded by St Francis, although its primary mission was to the neglected poor of the crowded and plague-ridden cities of mediæval Europe, found itself compelled to make use of the great Universities for recruits of ability and education. The headquarters of the Dominicans in Italy was at Bologna, in France at Paris, and in England at Oxford. These convents or central houses were from the first called colleges, and the undisguised aim of the Dominicans was to get into their hands the theological teaching of the great Universities. The University of Paris was undoubtedly the great centre of theological influence, and the Dominicans made marvellous efforts to place their college there at

the head of all theological learning. Mr Rashdall has not told us of their method to secure this; it probably lay beyond the limits he had marked out for himself to make use of the investigations of Preger; but the learned author of the History of German Mysticism has proved from old Dominican documents that the Order took the utmost pains, by winnowing all their great convent schools north of the Alps, to gather together the flower of the students into their college at Paris; and by a similar process of the most careful selection, they promoted their most brilliant and successful teachers throughout their monastic educational colleges to be the Masters of their Paris school. Then by limiting their stay in the Paris college to a short term of years, they had at the head of their Paris school a succession of the ablest teachers their Order could produce. No one was allowed to remain a teacher there when his short term was ended, unless he had shown very exceptional qualities; and, if my memory does not deceive me, only three teachers were so honoured—Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and Eckhart the famous mystic. The published list of Masters in the Dominican School in Paris includes the names of a majority of the most famous scholastic theologians, and their number and excellence must have puzzled many a student of the period who was not acquainted with the careful method of selection and the strictly-enforced short service system, which characterised probably the most strenuous endeavour ever made to attain the supreme height of scholastic eminence. We have not the same detailed information of the way in which the Franciscans provided for their college, but I infer, from two references in the interesting and gossipy chronicle of Brother Salambene of Parma, that they too tried a special method of selection.

It was no easy matter for the secular Masters of Paris, and especially of the theological faculty, to maintain their ground against these picked teachers of the Mendicant orders. Mr Rashdall has described, with his usual careful accuracy, the quarrel and the compromise which was come to after a long and bitter struggle. The history is interesting to the outside student, from the decisive light it throws on the perplexing question of what was meant by the so-called "Eternal Gospel," long wrongly attributed to Abbot Joachim of Fiore.

The second volume consists of two parts, in the first of which the author describes the Universities of France (other than Paris), of Italy (other than Salerno and Bologna), of Spain and Portugal, of Germany, Bohemia and the Low Countries, of Poland, Hungary, Denmark and Sweden, and of Scotland. The second part describes the rise and growth of Oxford and Cambridge; and contains some chapters on mediæval student life which the general reader cannot

fail to find very interesting. The volumes are illustrated with a map of Europe, showing the mediæval University towns, and with plans of mediæval Oxford and mediæval Paris. The index has been compiled with great care, and the appendix contains valuable documents justifying the more important conclusions on difficult points. Altogether, the book is one of the most valuable additions to the history of mediæval thought that has been published in this country, and it is needless to say that it entirely supersedes anything that we have previously had on the mediæval Universities.

THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

The Unity of God and the Moral Idea in the Avesta.

Communication from Dr L. H. Mills, Oxford.

IN the last issue of this Review I was kindly permitted to make some explanations as to the often-mentioned obscurities of the Avesta; and I trust that the remarks which I offered there will be useful to critical theologians who may be disposed to give me credit for sincerity in my purposes, and, may I hope, also for a fair amount of knowledge in reference to the subject to which I have devoted so many years of toil. I have now again to thank the editor of the *Critical Review* that he permits me to occupy these pages with a further treatment of the subject of the doctrines of the Avesta; and I proceed at once to endeavour to carry out the lines of investigation which I took up in the July number, and to bring the distinctions which I there attempted to a closer definition, as well as to plainer illustrations, if not indeed to proof. I was proceeding to say in the concluding words of that other communication that the main theological doctrines which are expressed or involved in these Gâthic hymns are quite obvious and plain, and this notwithstanding the ever-recurring obscurities as to the subordinate details in their exegesis, as to the combinations of their syntax, and so of course as to the exact cast of their thought. I would now, although I trust with a proper modesty, reassert what I then wrote, singular as it must have appeared at first sight; and I would do so without any retraction either as to the substance of what I said, or in the firm conviction of its tone. The main and elementary doctrines that we most value in either ancient or modern theology are present in the Gâthas, and they are present there in a form which leaves little to be desired so far as they should conduce to the positive character of our conclusions; and if these statements, or passages which imply these venerated beliefs and principles, be not so numerous as we should

prefer them to be, we must lay this defect to the charge of the paucity of the documents themselves; for they are of course not treatises directly dealing with these supreme matters, but merely hymns which allude to them in passing, or involve them in allusions to kindred interests of eminent although temporary moment.

Let us then consider, if it be permitted, the two leading subjects which I have mentioned above in the heading, "the Unity of God" and "the Moral Idea."

They are well worthy of the devotion of our first attention, for they are of more importance to comparative theology than all the rest of the less critical ideas which appear in the Gâthas put together.

What then shall we say as to the first of them, the Unity of God, so far as it appears in these hymns which are acknowledged on every side to be the oldest and by far the most important portion of the Avesta which has come down to us? To sum up a succinct report at the immediate outset, I would say in one word that we find God "alone" and apart in the Gâthas—that is to say, alone and apart in His supremacy so far as the presence of gods, who surround Him elsewhere in the Avesta or in the Veda, is concerned. As a very especial circumstance we notice, and with wonder, that there is no Mithra beside Him. This is the most remarkable fact in the entire connection, for Mithra is one of the most prominent gods both of the later Avesta and of the Veda.[1] There is also no Haoma in the Gâthas, a circumstance almost equally as strange, as Haoma (which is Soma) is the subject of many scores of Vedic hymns, and the Haoma Yasht is one of the most pleasing and interesting parts of the later Avesta, while the word occurs with perhaps as great a frequency as that of any other proper name or name of an especially prominent or symbolical object. There seems to be an allusion to the use and effect of the hostile or Vedic Soma in Yasna xlviii. 10, where it stimulates the hostile fury of the non-Iranian depredators, poetically supposed to be drawn up in their line of battle; but, strange to say, this most favoured of the gods Hoama (Soma), the Bacchus of the Aryans, is nowhere at all addressed, or even mentioned as such, in these most ancient hymns, nor have we any Airyaman there as a god, nor a Neryosengh, nor a Verethraghna, with the rest of the doughty or genial throng; the Fire itself is not addressed as a person. These all appear in the Yashts, or Vendîdâd, while as to Indra, who at one time contends for the first place with Varuṇa in the Ṛik, he exists only doubtfully even in the later Avesta.

The Vedic gods as grouped together as a class under their most comprehensive name of "Daevas, Shining gods of Heaven," so far from making the Gâthic godhead the kernel or core of a

[1] Under the kindred name of Mitra.

polytheism by their ever-encroaching claims to share its recognition, are with Indra at the head of them everywhere *reversed* in both the older and the later Avesta, and are turned into hostile personalities inspired, or, as I rather should say, instigated by demons, or more directly they are turned into demons themselves. But there remain, it will be said, the personified Attributes, the Ameshaspends (the Amesha spenta), as I have named them (see above in the number of this Review for July). Were not these impressive conceptions co-partners with Ahura, and as much his peers as they were his characteristics? They seem to be such; that is to say, they seem to be his peers or his co-equal children in the later Avesta, and in the Gâthas also they are addressed, one or more of them, as if they were separate deities, and not seldom in the closest connection with Ahura; just as the Holy Spirit is addressed in connection with the Father in our own Christian Scripture, and as the Father is addressed in close association with the Son. Have we not, then, a polytheism here with no Heptade-conception to give us relief as the Sabellian theory gives relief to those who feel constrained to reduce the doctrine of the Trinity to a level with their reason? Not at all. These sublime qualities of Love, Justice, Power, and Zeal, together perhaps with their final but infallible result, "Eternal welfare," are proved to be only as separate from Ahura as the thought and characteristics of any being may be said to be separate from himself. They are indeed grouped with him, one or more of them, in many an appeal and with a personification which is at least poetical; see, for instance, in Yasna xxxiii. 11, "Ye the most bounteous Mazda! Ahura and Piety with Him! and Asha furthering the settlements, Thou Good Mind, and Thou the Dominion, hear ye me all and have mercy! for all gifts which I bring whatsoever." Aside from other passages this certainly looks like an appeal to five gods, each one on an equality, rather than to the attributes of one. But let us consider the matter more closely. Does Asha ever *create?* (see Yasna xliv. 3).

"Who in production first was Asha's father?" this is the question, "Be the just law (Asha) life-strong; yea, clothed with body," see Yasna xliii. 16; this is the prayer. Ahura would not be mentioned thus. Asha comes far nearer representing the holy church, the congregation, and very often does in reality so represent it as that body in which he (Asha) dwells, or with which he is clothed.

Vohu Manah on the same principle is positively used for the pious man; once quite simply even in the Gâthas, and often later in the other parts of the Avesta. Khshathra, the Kingly Power, is mentioned with Aramaiti; in the words, "Whom blest Devotion (Aramaiti) hath set in thy Kingdom" (Khshathra Y. xliv. 7); and

surely Weal and Immortality were not Gods, of themselves? No; there is no polytheism whatsoever in these passages or in the occurrences which may be regarded as parallel to them, that is to say, there is not more co-equal polytheism than appears to some of us to be implied in some of the doctrines of the Christian Church.[1] Even in the later Avesta, so far as the Ameshaspends or the Divine Attributes are concerned, their union with Ahura does not constitute a polytheism positively, although the frequent grouping of Ahura with Mithra once or twice even in the characteristic grammatical form of the dual number most certainly suggests a peerage in divine prerogatives. In that later Avesta, it will be remembered, in the Yashts and in the Vendîdâd, the Ameshas have fallen from their Gâthic dignity and become archangels. I say "fallen," for surely in our opinion at least the Holy Order of the Law as the supreme regulating influence, the Benevolence of the motive, as a spiritual quality, the Power and the Alertness of the One God immediately seized in our minds as His attributes form a far higher conception than that of the fabled personality of these sublime characteristics. They are so degraded in the Yashts, later Yasna and Vendîdâd, that Asha is often almost the Fire. Vohu Manah is the holy man, Khshathra is a God of metals, Haurvatât presides over water and Ameretatât over plants; they are high indeed as deities, that is to say they would be high if we are indeed to separate them from Ahura; it would be difficult to name Vedic Gods who would occupy as high a place in reference to a Varuṇa as these quasi independent deities would occupy toward Ahura, but they are not at all in such a sense co-equal as to rival Him. We meet no polytheism thus far, but we do come upon a Dualism, and this is one of the most curious of phenomena, as its occurrence is also one of the most important of possible considerations.

Dualism.

That Dualism expresses the strong polarity of the entire system of Zoroastrianism. That system will mince no matters in its theological and moral or intellectual distinctions; according to it there is to be no fencing between truth and untruth, and, above all things, literally no "beating of the Devil about the bush." He, the Devil, is no inferior factor among the forces in operation throughout the universe; there are woes too bitter for a good God to have made or even to have tolerated. He Himself with all His mighty Power and Love and with His other attributes from Asha to

[1] Mazda and Asha appeared in Y. l. 9 to be linked together as duals; but see Asha as instrumental in the verse before. Also where, may I ask, is the dual verb?

Ameretatât could not have prevented them from developing, much less could He have radically modified their original characteristics. *There is a Devil*, not only in the heart but in the lot, nor in the lot of man alone, in the lot of everything. This powerful personality is revealed in the Avesta, even in the Old Avesta, the Gâthas, and he is no secondary power; he is original. There were two first Spirits; see S.B.E. xxxi., p. 25 to p. 35, and Gâthas, p. 36 flg. and 431 flg.

It was a most astonishing hypothesis at the time and place in which it was first formulated; the more so as it was made in cold blood and clear metre. It is formally put and constitutes the burden of the most important chapter in the Avesta; the tribes or their delegates were especially assembled to hear it. One of the hymns in which it is prominent begins with the lines "Thus forth I announcing speak; hear ye, now listen, ye who from far have come and ye from nearer." It had of course lurked, stirring slowly into life amid the people's surmises and growing by imperceptible degrees into form and shape, but when it was thought out it was fulminated.

How far it consciously agreed with our modern dualism (for many of us seem slipping fast into a belief in two controlling powers) is not the point of our inquiry at the present moment; it is enough to say that it agrees with modern pessimism unconsciously and by implication as closely perhaps as any old idea could agree with a modern one; but *then* and *there*, at the time when it was more publicly declared, beyond any question at all, it was taken most seriously and—solemnly. Being the main theme of the Religion and the cause of the political movement, it gave the keynote to a class of antitheses which prevail throughout Avestan lore; and it actually became not only possibly but probably the remote ancestor of those prominent antithetical elements which prevail in Western philosophy, especially of that polarity which appeared earlier in the antithesis of certain Gnostic systems, as also later in the conceptions of Jakob Boehme, which issued in the dialectical development by sublated negation brought in anew by Fichte and applied so extensively by Hegel[1]; but it has not yet been noticed with sufficient distinctness that it exerted also a deep if not greatly scattered or extended influence in its native home; that is to say, in Persia, and that it has given us there a great deal of "Hegelianism before Hegel," if nowhere else then in the Masnavi (of Rumi); but of this no more just here. Whether the keen-sighted group in Old Iran really grasped the idea of "sublated" dualism, and believed in a Negative as inherent in the nature of things and as *original* to them, that is to say, whether they grasped that idea closely and firmly, and whether they held to

[1] See my article Zend Avesta in Chambers's Encyclopedia.

the belief that in the existing or in any conceivable Universe Negation with the misery which it implies was simply an integral element, not only needed and effective to define our conceptions of a universe, but needed to make a "universe" possible, and to hold it in existence, or whether they did not grasp the idea thus in its clear outline, we cannot be sure; but beyond all manner of doubt they grasped that idea in its general form, and this alone calls for close study of the Gâthas, for they are replete with interest as a link in the chain of the conclusions of natural reason, if not as a block in the foundation of that reason itself. In the eyes of some scholars this Dualism may indeed impair the supremacy of Ahura, and justly so, but *it is the only thing which does.* He is God, even the Father of Asha, and if of Asha, then of all the poetically personified Attributes; as to this there is not even the shadow of an uncertainty. Either the Six, the Immortals, fold back into His being as His thoughts, having folded out as His characteristics; or, if personified in rhetoric and by inference, they are His children; but whether he be alluded to as the Creator or as the Father, He is there as the Supreme God, or rather as the supreme *good* Creator; and there is no pagan polytheism whatsoever to be found beside Him in the Gâthas, although there may be, as I have acknowledged, in the "New Avesta."[1] So much for the doctrine of the Unity of God in the original Zoroastrian documents.

The Moral Idea.

Let us now inquire as to the presence of the moral idea in the Gâthas. Is it positively expressed or implied in them? There is as little difficulty about this as there is about the question of the Unity of the Deity as He appears in them. That is to say, there should be no doubt in our minds about the existence of the moral idea within the conceptions expressed in the Gâthas after we have formed a just idea as to what kind of intellectual conception a moral idea may be. To suppose that Zarathushtra had either the leisure or the inclination in the midst of the civil (or border) warfare in which he was so unhappily involved, to vapour about "holiness" by itself and solely in the abstract, pure and simple, and without any necessary connection with his immediate circumstances, would be a very uncritical opinion indeed. We could not reasonably expect this of him during the harassments of his campaigns, military or political, or both military, religious and political together, nor wish him to dwell exclusively upon the concept of "holiness" in general and for all ages, and apart from the matters immediately before him, which called most imperatively

[1] The rest of the Avesta outside the Gâthas.

for the application of the "Righteous Order" to save the existing fabric of the national life; and if we would not press on that requisition we must then acknowledge that he would be even less inclined to dwell on an abstract "love" (for if it were to a very refined degree an "abstract," it might even exist in the hearts of the "accursed foes" themselves); nor had he time to trouble with any "Sovereign Power" so comprehensive as to belong also to the other side,[1] nor with "abstract" zeal (the Alert or Ready Mind) in the same general sense, and as little with Immortal Happiness for every existing being (including the clamouring throngs in arms before his face). When his campaigns *were over*, or in the intervals between them in his brief years of rest, then indeed these thoughts might be or they might become "abstract" and nobly so; and he may even have longed for their realisation without limit and in every living thing, perhaps even in the non-Iranians so long as they did not take the field, but in the midst of "business," and in the midst of such business as he had before him, he needed all his wits for the movements on which the nation's all depended. Asha was the Holy Order of God's law fast enough; it was eternal, sublime, etc., etc., as much as one could wish it and as strongly as one could express it, but it was *appropriated*, seized by privilege, and as said above, "*embodied*." He was engaged in a struggle in which supreme interests hung often in suspense, amidst scenes at times terrific. He wished to know, and very quickly too, whether every thing were *taut*; whether every priest, judge, soldier or ploughman was awake and alive. Had he caught an Atharvan fumbling (with his rites), a judge hesitating, a soldier "dubious," or a farmer lazy, we might almost hear (in imagination) his short sentence; and it would be one to startle us. Asha was God's Holiness, Eternal Right, Law and Order, but as he for the moment saw Asha, "he" (or it) was Asha in the ranks before his eyes, in the priests beside his altars and in the tillers in his fields;—work was everywhere to be done, skilled, rapid and thorough; and Asha (God's Order) was the only force which could get his men to do it. He (Asha) was therefore seen chiefly, if not only in the loyal corps of his armies, in the digested laws of his codes, in the "peculiar" people of his tribes; wherever else Asha might be, or might not be, was a dream for calmer days. Zarathushtra had no time whatever for a Holiness which might smoulder in the infidel; his great but at the same time his only "call" was with Asha in the Church. The "abstractness" of Asha was then in so far limited at moments or absorbed for long intervals in the machinery which Zarathushtra had set up, and in the work which it, or he, was intended and destined to complete. It was a holiness deep and living, indeed,

[1] With its accursed deity.

none more so, and there could have been none more far reaching in its judicial and benevolent purposes, for it even aimed at the conversion of contemporaneous opponents,[1] nor could there have been a holiness more fervent in the enthusiasm with which it aimed to inspire every universal virtue, or in the tenacity with which it endeavoured to maintain every noble principle, and to carry such principles out in action; but it was sometimes, nay it was too often, *fixed in a holy race.*

As to how far it ruled beyond the border even amongst the best of living Gentiles, Zarathushtra had not more and perhaps even less to say than the supreme Christian Pontiff has to say to-day about the potential "holiness" of the millions who cannot cede his claims. The principle and the enthusiasm of Asha did not constitute a "mechanical" sanctity as we may be sure; though it pervaded an orderly working structure; no verbal mummeries alone could for a moment have satisfied its ideal of devotion; nor could even a practical honesty in word and barter have been all it sought for; the heart and the soul, according to its principle, must be as absolutely pious as the ritual must be absolutely pure, and the civil statutes flawless. As the two spirits were good or evil "in thought and in word and in deed," so the worshipper "must content Ahura with actions essentially true." His holiness must be practical, and it must be spiritual likewise for the "bodily life and the mental." He could indeed only think of it at moments when he could see it in the castes of his warrior state, and he had no time for Asha either in the distance or in the "atmosphere," but even in the most privileged of his interested oligarchy, the holiness which he recognised must not be of a technically limited character, and it must be, before all things, sincere. And so of the other enthroned characteristics, they were the Good Mind, the Kingdom, the Ready Zeal of Ahura *in His immediate people*, but they were none the less in reality and in actuality as well a "Good Mind," a "Power," and a "Zeal," sovereign and energetic in the individual believer's soul.

Such was the moral idea in the Gâthas as I discover it; it was often closely localised; for the most part losing sight of the non-Zoroastrian, hampered at every step of its progress, as well as marred in every impulse of its sentiment by a furious fanaticism (for the life of Zoroastrianism was at stake), but also to a certain degree preserving fine elements of conscientiousness. No soldier, priest, nor tiller amongst the foreign hordes could have any share even for a moment in the inspired Attributes and in the protection which they offered, but neither was a Gâthic man *ashavan* from his mere membership *per se*; the "official holiness" which he bore

[1] *Cf.* Y. xxxi. 1.

was no more indelible than the sanctity which cleaves to the modern Catholic disciple. It was a stamp, a χαρακτήρ which meant everything in the way of privilege and covenant, but it was a mark which might wear off through abrasions if not guarded with close vigilance, or it might become a brand of infamy if defiled by treason, rather than remain a scar or sign of honour won through a life-time of virtue, valour and of thrift.

But in judging the expressions of the "moral idea" which meet us in the Gâthas, one predominating, nay, all important circumstance must be constantly recalled, fully grasped and firmly held in mind if we would avoid the risk of misjudging the whole matter; it is this, that the moral idea as it is expressed or implied in the Gâthas has of necessity a peculiar and limited application in them; and this is owing to a fact which I have referred to more than once; it is owing to the fact that the Gâthas for the most part breathe an atmosphere of controversy and even the animus of war; and as the hymns of war, the moral distinctions drawn in them are those which were supposed to exist between opposed and rival communities rather than those which might arise between estranged and intercriminating individuals in the same community, or they were distinctions made between communities rather than those which would be made as to the character of individuals in the same community by the functionaries of the law. Men are judged of in the bulk in the Gâthas, as is usual at similar junctures, or throughout similar long periods of time. As puritans could see no good in cavaliers, and as loyalists could only detest the principles of rebels, so Zoroastrianism knew no term too hard for the hated throngs which opposed at once their interests and their faith. We have, therefore, strange to say, no abundant or even adequate opportunity to judge of the personal aspects under which the moral idea applied itself in that part of Iran at the date of Gâthas; and this, notwithstanding the fact that they are themselves made up of fervent expressions implying an earnest reverence for the moral sentiment in all its forms, and a devotion to it under every conceivable combination of circumstances. Curious as it may seem, the far less lofty Vendîdâd and even the Yashts give ampler items for such analyses, for under the jurisdiction of the penal law as under that of the ritual statutes of the Vendîdâd the Zoroastrian is at peace, immersed in the busy toil of civic life which discloses the individual nature of the average citizen at every turn; and so of the less warlike Yashts; see especially the beautiful fragment in Yasht xxii. Asha the inspired spirit of the law is no longer called on to arouse the patriotic ardour of the Zoroastrian to the point of heroic action, fanning its fury to white heat, and painting in still darker colours the malignant motives of the

"enemy," he, or it, is needed to measure all possible deeds, domestic, commercial, social, of the best known Iranian citizen as well as the deeds of the most doubtful, and so to divide good men from the evil, not in vast multitudes or in nations, but individually, and as man is separate from man. Yet the Gâthic type of the moral idea preceded the legal and gave it birth, and therefore, as of course, includes it; and while the hymns themselves do not so fully express its incidence and force; yet at times even there in the Gâthas it searches the individual, and closely, Zoroastrian though he be; see especially Y. xxx. 2, 3. With this remark I will close my plea for the general clearness of these most ancient fragments so far as they express the few salient points in theoretical and moral theology comparatively judged.

Much interest might be awakened by separate expositions of the leading subjects as they present themselves in their detail; but the critical clergy wish first for an answer to their immediate question, and for a reply without delay and in the plainest terms; can the main points in the Gâthas—so I would suppose them to inquire—can their main points be made out clearly so far as they accentuate the common questions which arise in comparative theology and comparative ethics? I would only say in a word, to the best of my knowledge and in the fulness of my belief, "they can."

L. H. Mills.

Studies in Judaism.

By S. Schechter, M.A. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1896. *8vo, pp. xxx.* 442. *Price, 7s. 6d.*

In one of these brilliant and scholarly essays Mr Schechter quotes with approval a remark of Zunz, to the effect that for Judaism the Middle Ages lasted till the beginning of the eighteenth century. Most readers know enough of the subsequent developments of Jewish thought to appreciate the force of that saying, in so far as it applies to the Jews of the West. They will remember that the epoch-making friendship between Mendelssohn and Lessing, which stands as a symbol of the alliance of Judaism and modern culture, did not commence till the middle of the century. But probably few outside of Jewish circles have any idea of the contemporary movement in the synagogues of Eastern Europe, where the Polish Jew still leads a separate life, which is something of a mystery to his more enlightened brethren of the West. Yet even there the breath of the Zeitgeist has been felt, and the eighteenth century witnessed a sort of renaissance, some aspects of which are dealt

with in the first three essays of this book. The study on "The Chassidim," with which the volume opens, is perhaps the most luminous and instructive of the whole. That remarkable sect, whose vagaries have alienated the sympathies and possibly warped the judgment of many Jewish writers, evidently has a great fascination for Mr Schechter. Graetz, for example, in his History of the Jews, dwells so much on the extravagances that marked the movement, as almost to leave the impression that it was largely an affair of trickery and ostentation on the part of the leaders and dram-drinking and tobacco-smoking on the part of the converts. Mr Schechter's attitude is far more sympathetic, and therefore presumably more just. Baal-shem, the founder of the sect (born about the beginning of last century), he regards as a "religious revivalist in the best sense, full of burning faith in his God and His cause," and he finds the secret of his extraordinary success in a revolt against the excessive and notorious casuistry of the Polish Rabbis. Amongst the rude and illiterate Jews of the Trans-Carpathian provinces Baal-shem acquired the fame of a wonder-worker, and soon numbered his followers by tens of thousands. While scornful of the Rabbinical learning, and somewhat addicted to Kabbalistic speculation, he seems to have been wholly uninfluenced by the cosmopolitan tendencies of the age, so that the movement he inaugurated stands entirely aloof from the revival of Jewish learning represented by the school of Elijah Wilna. The central doctrine of Baal-shem's teaching is the Divine Omnipresence or Immanence, and his three cardinal virtues are Humility, Cheerfulness and Enthusiasm. Although Mr Schechter insists on the distinctively Jewish character of the original Chassidism, he admits that it speedily assumed a form irreconcilable with the true interests of Judaism. The dead fly in the ointment was the pernicious heresy of man-worship, in the form of an almost idolatrous veneration for the Zaddikim, the living leaders of the sect. The explanation of this lamentable aberration is found in the "want of something tangible whereon to fix the minds of the people, which has confronted the teachers of so many creeds," a want which the Chassidim met by a fatal exaggeration of their doctrine that the man who has reached the highest level of holiness becomes one with his Divine Father, and is virtually a kind of God-man. It is a striking, and perhaps a significant, fact that this intensely religious movement, springing up in the bosom of Judaism, is wholly indifferent to the Messianic idea.

The two essays on Nachman Krochmal (died 1840) and Elijah Wilna (died 1797) represent the rise of the new Jewish learning in the East. Both men were by extraction Polish Jews, although Krochmal, through his acquaintance with German philosophy and

literature, and his far-reaching influence on Jewish thought, may be said to belong to the West as much as the East. Those of us to whom he has been little more than a name will welcome Mr Schechter's admirable sketch of the life and work of this "fine sceptic," sent by a beneficent Providence to help perplexed Judaism to doubt its doubts away. Elijah Wilna, the Gaon, a scholar of a different type and a narrower range of interests, was the great champion of Jewish orthodoxy against the Chassidim. Yet in his own line he was even a more formidable opponent of Rabbinical casuistry than they. The "simple meaning," in which a shrewd Italian Rabbi of the eighteenth century (p. xiii.) recognised a chief danger to orthodoxy, was to him the best criterion of truth; and it is his fearless application of sound critical methods to the interpretation of Rabbinical literature that entitles him to a place of honour amongst the founders of Jewish science.

It is impossible within the limits of a notice to indicate, even in the briefest manner, the scope of the eleven remaining studies of the volume (the titles are: "Nachmanides," "A Jewish Boswell," "The Dogmas of Judaism," "The History of Jewish Tradition," "The Doctrine of Divine Retribution in Rabbinical Literature," "The Law and Recent Criticism," "The Hebrew Collection of the British Museum," "Titles of Jewish Books," "Women in Temple and Synagogue," "The Earliest Jewish Community in Europe"). Those on "The Dogmas of Judaism" and "The Law and Recent Criticism" are perhaps specially noteworthy, the one for its protest against the prevalent dictum of the Mendelssohnian school that Judaism is a religion without dogma; and the other for its defence of legalism against the disparaging estimate formed by certain leaders of Old Testament criticism. But there is hardly one which does not contain something worthy of being quoted, although the great diversity of subject matter forbids us to make the attempt here. We shall content ourselves with directing attention to the suggestive passage in the introduction, where the author has occasion to speak of the bearing of recent Old Testament criticism on the theological position of Judaism. That, of course, is a question that concerns Christians as well as Jews, and it is interesting to know something of the attitude adopted towards it by Jewish thinkers. If we understand Mr Schechter aright, the dominant tendency at present is that of the historical school, which takes refuge in the secondary meaning of scripture embodied in the Rabbinical tradition and thus transfers the seat of authority from the Bible to the collective conscience of Israel, as expressed from age to age by its accredited organs. The position has a certain analogy in that of the High Churchman, who, when beaten off the field of New Testament exegesis and primitive

church history, simply elevates the whole ecclesiastical development to the dignity of a divine revelation, and makes history responsible for a dogma which cannot be proved from scripture. Now Mr Schechter does not himself belong to this school. He cannot away with this exaltation of tradition at the expense of scripture, which he humourously compares to "a sort of religious bi-metallism in which bold speculators in theology try to keep up the market value of an inferior currency by denouncing loudly the bright shining gold, &c." Unfortunately he does not tell us what is necessary to maintain the gold currency at its old standard. He does not even say whether he accepts or rejects the higher criticism of the Old Testament. He seems to think that the view of the historical school, with all its inherent weakness, may serve our time, although he does not believe it will serve those that come after us. It does not appear that he has any better counsel for Judaism in the present crisis than to trust in God and keep its powder dry.

However that may be, the English public has reason to congratulate itself on having so competent an exponent of Jewish thought as Mr Schechter shows himself to be. He possesses the happy gift of imparting vitality and interest to everything he touches; and there is not one of these papers, whether the matter be biographical or theological or antiquarian, which will not be read with pleasure by all who wish to understand the peculiar position which Judaism occupies in the world of to-day. How far the book is meant as an Apologia for Judaism we do not presume to say, but we can hardly be wrong in assuming that the writer wished to enlist the intelligent sympathy of non-Jewish readers in the inner life of his own people. In that aim we venture to say he is entirely successful. J. SKINNER.

Der Glaube und seine Bedeutung für Erkenntniss Leben und Kirche mit Rücksicht auf die Hauptfragen der Gegenwart.

Von D. Julius Köstlin. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1895. *Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.* 8*vo, pp. viii.* 343. *Price, M.*6.

THIS book is in substance an apology, in which an earnest, candid, and many-sided theologian makes a thoroughly modern contribution to one of the oldest branches of divinity. It bears the same title as a monograph published by the author in 1859, and is the outcome of a natural desire to reconsider the fundamental positions

in the light of the fuller knowledge and riper experience accumulated in the intermediate years of strenuous and honoured research. An additional interest attaches to it from the circumstance that the exposition of the essentials of Christianity which it furnishes, is a typical example of the middle school of German theology, and that on occasion it differentiates this standpoint from that of the other contemporary schools with reference to various theoretical and practical questions of capital importance.

The general aim, as is intimated in the Introduction, is to estimate the significance of Christian faith for the higher life, to determine the grounds on which it rests, and to exhibit the objects which it embraces and defends. The first section (pp. 8-79) contains a discussion of the origin and nature of faith. The second and third sections (pp. 80-205) treat of the knowledge which comes by faith, and that (1) in its relation to scientific and philosophical knowledge, (2) in its main content as knowledge of God and historical revelation of salvation. The fourth section (pp. 206-274) describes the life of faith—referring especially to the psychology of faith, the religious boon of justification which it appropriates, and the moral life in which it issues. In the concluding section (pp. 275-335), under the rubric of "the communion of believers," there follows a discussion of the nature of the Church, of the contrast of the actual with the ideal, of the Church one and divided, and lastly of Church and Creed.

As an apology the treatise developes an argument for the truth of Christianity which is practically based on its self-evidencing power, or its adaptation to the deeper needs and nobler aspirations of human nature. The traditional apologetic, which first lays the basis of Natural Theology with the theistic proofs, and thereafter demonstrates Christianity to be a special revelation authenticated by historical evidence, is rejected for two reasons. In the first place its arguments are unconvincing, in the second place at best they could only generate intellectual assent, which is of little religious value. The true line, according to Dr Köstlin, is to seek to ascertain the grounds on which the faith of believers actually rests. To ascertain this by introspection is a difficult matter; and the method preferred accordingly is to recur to the first period of Christianity, and to inquire as to the objects propounded to the faith of the primitive disciples, and the means by which it was awakened. The objects of faith set up in primitive preaching are discovered to have been the Kingdom of God, the Heavenly Father, and Jesus as the Messiah or Son of God; while faith in Christ is traceable, in part to His mighty works, but, above all, to the impression made upon the heart by His message and His person. It may be added that, according to the teaching of Jesus,

faith was jointly dependent on a mystic divine influence (John vii. 17), and on personal self-determination (John v. 40). In brief, while miracles strengthened—while possibly the miracle of the resurrection saved—the faith of the disciples, the determining factor was the intrinsic power of the revelation in Christ Jesus. And this Biblical precedent commends itself as the model of all fruitful apologetic. We cannot lead the unbeliever through nature up to nature's God, we cannot by a historical argument prove to him that miracles have happened, and that an infallible book has been composed, but we can bring him face to face with the historical Christ—His God and Father, His moral ideal, His person, His life; and we may hope that, made for religion as man is no less than for morality, the whole will so impress his heart and conscience that he will yield to it as disclosing the truth to be received, the life to be lived, and the God to be adored.

To rest the case for Christianity on the internal evidence is, of course, no novelty in German theology; rather has it become the dominant, if not the exclusive method. And it is certainly an interesting circumstance that, while many preachers are delivering apologetical sermons on Agnosticism and miracles, many profound apologists have arrived at the opinion that the only effective apology is the preaching of the Gospel. It is, however, open to serious question whether German apologetic, in depending so exclusively on the internal evidence, or on the argument from the person of Christ, presents the full case for Christianity. There is, doubtless, need of reducing the material agglomerated under the title of Christian Evidences—some of which proves nothing or maintains the indefensible, and we may heartily welcome recent attempts to review the ground and consolidate the argument; but, by cutting the material down to the internal evidence, the average intelligence, which, in the main, is the object addressed, must experience a distinct loss of confidence, and feel that a note of impressive distinction has been obscured. The argument from prophecy, it may be admitted, has been distinctly weakened in its old form by modern exegesis; but it is incontestable that, in any account of the grounds of the faith of believing Christians, and therefore of Christian evidences, the miracles of our Lord must be taken into account as an influential factor. It is doubtless true, as Professor Köstlin says, that we should place no credence in the Bible miracles were it not for the impression made on the heart by the spiritual miracle of Christ's unique personality. But, on the other hand, the report of the miracles, and especially of the resurrection, powerfully reacts upon and elevates the conception of Christ's dignity. With very considerable assurance it may be affirmed that, had no miracles been associated with Jesus, had the narratives of healing been

awanting, had there been no witness to His resurrection from the dead, then, even with His stainless love-inspired life before us, we should not have had courage to proclaim Him more than man—possibly not even to describe Him as the revelation of the Father. A doubt may further be expressed as to whether a Christian apologist can consistently throw over the theistic proofs, according to the prevailing fashion in Germany. After all, the world was made by the wise loving God in whom he believes; and to say that nature does not reveal its author is tantamount to saying, in despite of His honour, that in His works He has not done Himself justice. Professor Köstlin, indeed, holds that our belief in God can be justified over against science and philosophy, but faith may well rise to a bolder utterance that this in reference to the self-manifestation of God in creation and providence.

It is a merit of Professor Köstlin's monograph that he not only furnishes a vindication of Christianity but also sets forth the essential objects of faith. To borrow a useful phrase, he gives us an outline of Christianity defensively stated, instead of proceeding on the assumption, as is so often done, that the nature and contents of Christianity may be taken for granted. While exhibiting some affinity with the Ritschlians, he has been careful to discriminate his position as independent, and may indeed claim to have given to this school as much as he has received. His dogmatic position might be described as that of a free Bible Christian—of one, that is, who accepts Revelation as the supreme rule of faith and practice, but who, at the same time, earnestly distinguishes between the recording scriptures and the historical revelation of which they are a deposit. From the confessionalist school he separates himself by the view that the Catholic formulation of the great dogmas is alike unscriptural and unsatisfactory to the modern Christian consciousness. In particular he emphasises that the Reformation gave an object lesson in reconstruction, rather than finality, of dogma; and that there remains the task, *inter alia*, of re-stating the Trinitarian and Christological dogmas with less regard to philosophy and with greater loyalty to the pristine revelation. That the creeds are to be continuously tested by the Word of God is unquestionably a sound Protestant principle — nowhere more heartily acknowledged than in the Confessions of the Reformed Churches; and there is also a growing consciousness of the advance made in the creeds of the fourth century upon the Biblical positions; but his purpose can hardly be realised until the relevant results of Biblical theology are better assured, and unless it can be proved that the formulæ of the creeds not only transcend, but illegitimately transcend, the Scriptural utterances of faith concerning Christ.

Much might be added as to the treatment of special themes, apologetical, doctrinal, and practical, upon which the writer touches in the course of a book marked by a wide outlook and by extensive learning. Especially might attention be profitably drawn to his account of the nature of faith—that sovereign religious act which it is a merit of modern German theology to have set in its original light as essentially a turning to the living God with heart and will, rather than as intellectual assent to a body of doctrinal propositions. In the power of such a faith Professor Köstlin has been able to say of Pentateuch Criticism and of Evolution: "none of these things move me"; and the tone of sturdy joyful confidence in God and His revelation by which the book is thus pervaded is well fitted to re-assure some who have not sufficiently distinguished between the outworks and the citadel.

W. P. PATERSON.

Johannes Mathesius. Ein Lebens- und Sitten-Bild aus der Reformationszeit.

Von Georg Loesche, Doktor der Philosophie und Theologie, Professor der Kirchengeschichte in Wien. 2 *vols. Gotha: F. A. Perthes,* 1895; *Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate.* 8*vo, pp.* 639, 467. *Price,* 16*s.*

WHO is Mathesius? most people will ask. And no wonder, when the "Encyclopædia Britannica" does not even mention his name. Professor Loesche opens his preface too with something like a complaint at the neglect with which the subject of his work has been treated, and the consequent ignorance of him which prevails, even among the learned. He says: "Whilst men of less eminence belonging to the second generation of the Reformation period have been brought into the light of day, Mathesius has thus far been left in obscurity, notwithstanding that he was the Reformer of Joachimthal; the most attractive figure in the Lutheran Christianity of Bohemia; alongside of Amos Comenius, the chief representative of Austrian Protestantism; the most important literary name in German-Bohemian literature; one of the most characteristic and eloquent preachers of his day, whose sermons were for centuries favourite books of devotion; and finally, pupil, boarder, close friend of Luther and the first biographer of the Reformer worthy of the name."

Among the causes assigned by Dr Loesche for this surprising neglect are the seclusion of the scene of his labours; the impoverishment of the district; and the difficulty of collecting and utilizing

his works, whether printed or still in MS., owing to their being so widely scattered. Perhaps the real or chief reason is the ruthless and well-nigh complete suppression of the Reformation in Bohemia, and the destruction by fire or otherwise of everything that could remind later generations of the men who had been its chief representatives and promoters.

Not that Mathesius has been altogether without his biographers; on the contrary, both German and French writers have given him attention; but none of them drew their presentation of him from MS. sources and a study of his entire works.

The gap which existed has been amply filled by the work whose title is given above. Of the amount of careful investigation that it must have cost, one can form a slight estimate from the preface, the list of sources consulted, the footnotes and so forth: it must have been immense. Indeed, but for the bearing such a biography may have on the present and future position of Protestantism in the Austrian Empire, one would be inclined to ask, *cui bono?* Still, in these days of pure research, when the distinction between even *minima* and *maxima* seems to be disappearing—certainly often disregarded—such a question would find deaf ears and awaken scornful echoes. Moreover, there can be no doubt that, as the author hints, in comparison with many others, Mathesius richly deserved a biography such as is here provided, especially as by its means a great deal of light is incidentally thrown on contemporary life and movements. In fact the work, as the title tells us, is a *Sitten-Bild* as well as a *Lebens-Bild.*

Johannes Mathesius was born June 24th, 1504, at Rochlitz, now a small though enterprising manufacturing town of Saxony, in the Department of Leipzig. In Mathesius' days it was a mining centre; for which reason, partly too because his father was financially interested in mining operations, he sometimes jokingly called himself "ein alter Bergmann." Joachimsthal is a small town in Bohemia, about five miles north of Carlsbad, chiefly known as the centre of a mining district. It was noted even in the sixteenth century for its silver production. In fact, the modern German word *Thaler* is an abridgment of the name *Joachimsthaler*, given to a silver coin, minted at the beginning of the sixteenth century, by the Counts von Schlick, who were at that time Lords of the district.

Early in the sixteenth century, in consequence of the slackness of the mining industry at Rochlitz, there was a "rush," as we should now say, of Saxon miners and their families to the more flourishing Joachimsthal, which, as we shall find, became eventually the occasion of Mathesius' settlement at the latter place.

His father was at one time a man of means and a Councillor of his native town; but owing to reverses and his own and his wife's

early death, the son, to whom this work is devoted, was left first to be brought up by one of his grandmothers, and then to fight his own way pretty much alone.

From his sixth to his thirteenth year he attended the common school at Rochlitz; then he went to the *Trivial* School, with its triple course of Grammar, Dialectics, and Rhetoric, at Mitweida, where he had to depend for subsistence on charitable gifts; thence he removed to one of the Latin Schools of Nürnberg, in those days the Venice of Germany and one of the chief seats of culture. Whilst there he supported himself by begging, perhaps also in part, as Luther had done in Erfurt, as a member of one of the peripatetic scholar choirs so common in Germany. It is mentioned that the number of these begging scholars in Nürnberg was so great about 1522, that the City Council issued an order strictly limiting it to forty in connection with any one school.

In 1523 he betook himself to the University of Ingolstadt, but feeling himself repelled, or at all events little attracted, by the spirit of the place and the studies pursued, left after two years. Compelled by his poverty to do something for a livelihood, he became private tutor in various houses for the next three years.

Up to this time his connection with the Romish Church had remained, at all events outwardly, unbroken; but now a period of struggle and doubt set in, due greatly to contact with Anabaptists, Sacramentarians and Lutherans, all of whom sought to win him over to their views. It is scarcely likely, however, that the son of a father who regularly read the Biblical lessons in a German translation on the Sunday, and who when asked why he didn't buy masses for the souls of his friends, replied, "Much as people pay for messengers, no one has yet brought back an answer"; besides displaying in other ways a critical temper towards the Church and its priests,—would oppose a strong resistance to new ideas. Nor did he. Unexpectedly favoured by circumstances, he accordingly resolved to go to Wittenberg, the headquarters of the new movement. There he became heart and soul a follower of Luther. Indeed the very first sermon preached by the Reformer after his arrival, which was on the subject of baptism, seems to have decided him, so at least he himself reports; possibly overlooking the inward preparation which he had already been undergoing. But poverty again stepped in to interfere with his own plans,—not, however, with those of God,—shortened his stay at Wittenberg and compelled him to accept a position as assistant master in a school at Altenburg, which had not long been reorganised in accordance with Protestant ideas. The post was by no means a brilliant one; for the "rector" received only about £40 per annum, and out of this sum

had to pay his assistant; but it gave him opportunity of filling sundry gaps in his classical knowledge, particularly, as he tells us, in his Latin; and of quietly increasing his acquaintance with Evangelical men and truth.

Scarcely had he been there two years when he was called to be rector of the Latin school at Joachimsthal,—the place which was destined to be the scene of life-long labours of exceptional vigour and success, in the cause of the Gospel. In this office he spent eight years, which cannot be better characterised than in an inscription which he wrote for the house adjoining the school, and which was built during his rectorate, "qui docet, sic doceat, qui regit, sic regat, qui servit, sic serviat, tanquam spectante deo, cui sancto juramento juratus est, cui etiam rationem reddet in novissimo die de toto officio suo." The school was intended to combine religious instruction of the Lutheran type with Humanistic studies; and good care he took, as long as he held the reins, that his scholars should be as thoroughly drilled in the one branch as in the other. Many utterances of his show how deeply he felt the responsibility of his calling, and how anxious he was to turn out not merely good scholars but good Christian citizens.

Gradually, however, despite the flourishing state of the school, and the good financial circumstances in which he found himself, it was more and more distinctly borne in upon him that a higher work was his true vocation,—no less a work in fact than the ordering of the Church at Joachimsthal on lines akin to those followed by Luther and his disciples. This feeling was doubtless intensified by the frequent changes of pastors, as well as by the unsatisfactory, yea, in some cases, Romanising character of their ministrations; but judging by his after career, shall we not also say that it was due to the secret stirrings, and betokened therefore a call, of the Spirit of God? The fact of his being proposed as preacher by some of the citizens naturally helped to give shape and form to what at first may have been but a vague impulse. It fell, however, to the lot of one of the master miners of the place to settle the question,—which he did by presenting him with a sum of money to be used either in taking a holiday or revisiting Wittenberg. He decided on the latter course.

In 1540, accordingly, he resigned his post and made his way to Wittenberg, where he became a boarder in Luther's house,—it was the custom for Professors then to take such boarders,—as well as his confidant and friend. A bit of advice given by one of the Wittenberg clergy, Magister Georg Rörer, who was Luther's literary assistant, throws an interesting light on the Reformer's person:—it was, "not to make much *contra* with the Doctor; to ask questions as he might like; once and again to raise an objection, but then to

content himself with the answer received." Mathesius tells us that he had never ceased to be thankful for this hint.

The sketch which Dr Loesche gives of the life at Wittenberg, particularly in Luther's private circle, tempts to quotations which would transgress the limits of this notice.

In November 1841 a deputation from the Burgomaster and Council of Joachimsthal came to Wittenberg with a formal invitation in the name of the entire body of parishioners to Mathesius to become preacher, alongside of Magister Wolfgang Calixt, under the chief pastor Steude. At the same time it was proposed to him, through Melanchthon, to undertake the charge of a new church in Pfalz-Neuburg. But the pressure put on him from Joachimsthal was so great that he felt it to be his duty to accept the call thither, and after receiving ordination at Luther's hands, entered on his life-work in April 1542.

The account given by Dr Loesche of the transaction, from the sending of the call to the opening of Mathesius' ministry at Joachimsthal, is full of interest; but I must hasten to close this scanty notice of a biography crowded with exceptionally characteristic details. One little incident, however, of his life at Joachimsthal deserves notice, so distinctive was it of the time. The three colleagues managed to agree very well, we are told, save on one question, that, namely, as to the nature of the righteousness and perfection which man possessed before the Fall. It would seem, in fact, that at last they submitted the point to Melanchthon; for in one of his letters to Mathesius he congratulates them on having ended their hair-splitting controversy, adding that it was much more necessary to concentrate attention on the present distress and the grace of God given to meet it. Possibly, however, another event to which Mathesius' correspondent refers at the same time may have had something to do with the termination of the dispute, to wit, his marriage; an exceptionally important event, considering that only one Joachimsthal clergyman before him had ventured on so anti-Romish a step,—a step which neither then nor years later commended itself to the Counts von Schlick, who were in a sort the patrons of the benefice. In consequence of the political changes which took place in Austria about 1545—changes which seemed to involve the danger of religious persecution—the chief pastor Steude accepted a call to Naumburg, and Mathesius was promoted to the vacancy. In 1555 he too received a call to Leipzig; but many as were the attractions of the place, and urgent as were the pleas of his friends, he resolved to remain, partly from a feeling that, after all, he was in his right place; and partly because to leave his parish just when, by God's grace, he had been enabled to start it on a right course, seemed to him unworthy of a true shepherd of Christ's flock. The words he

used in discourses regarding men who treat every opportunity of "improving themselves" as a call from God, are so characteristic of the man's spirit, word, and style, that it may be well to quote them:—"A true shepherd will not desert his flock because of a stinking ram or a lamb that unwittingly stumbles against him." "He will be like a sheep-dog that guards the flock the whole day, then follows it home, and trotting along the road pays no heed to the yelping of lap-dogs." "For the sake of the world's thanks and praise not begun; for fear of its thanklessness and abuse not given up." "Whom the devil moves, him he sets a rolling." "Whoso has a fixed and fitting vocation should not let himself be driven away, even though the black devil threaten him with hunger, trouble, abuse; or the white devil whisper to him that he is too learned and clever for such a small church and such stupid people; or the rich devil offer him greater honour, quiet, title, and stipend in a strange place." "If my mind had been set on bettering my circumstances, I could long ago have been receiving a much larger income; but my vocation was too dear to me."

Dr Loesche's pages are "gespickt," as a German might say, with epigrammatic sayings of Mathesius which are as vigorous as they are wise, as apt as they are homely, as full as they are terse.

After a twelve years married life of exceptional happiness and mutual helpfulness he lost his wife, and was left with seven children to train up. All of them turned out well; some of them did honour to their father and good service in the kingdom of Christ.

He died on the 7th of October 1565, almost literally in harness; for he was taken ill whilst descending from the pulpit, where he had just been preaching; and passed away a few hours thereafter in his own house. Well might he have said of himself, "I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith."

The "Works" of Mathesius are almost all of the kind commonly described as practical, and may be divided into two great classes—namely, (1) *sermons* on prescribed and unprescribed passages; discourses without texts; expositions of the Catechism; and occasional addresses at marriages, funerals, visitations, inductions, and other public occasions. (2) Ordinances for the regulation of the churches, schools and hospitals of Joachimsthal.

More than half of the first volume, and nearly the same part of the second, of Dr Loesche's "Life" are devoted to a careful analysis of these "Works." The rest is taken up with matter to which the author gives the following titles:—Systematic Characteristics of the Writings of Mathesius; Mathesius as Poetaster; his Correspondence; Vindication (in Latin) addressed to King Ferdinand;

Bibliography of Writings by and about Mathesius. A detailed index and a portrait crown the value of a work of amazing research, able execution and, of its kind, great value. D. W. SIMON.

Heredity and Christian Problems.

By Amory H. Bradford. New York and London: Macmillan & Co., 1895. *Cr.* 8*vo, pp. xiv.* 281. *Price,* 5*s. net.*

DR BRADFORD has been a frequent visitor to this country, and is already known to many through the written or the spoken word. This new book will further extend his reputation. It consists of a series of papers, collected and revised, and it wants the unity a sustained argument would have given it. But as the writer's aims and interests are chiefly practical, this matters less than it would have done had theory and system been mainly in view.

The earlier chapters give an exposition of the well established fundamental facts. The law of heredity is defined, and its working in the physical, the mental and the moral spheres explained. Environment is put into relation to heredity, and the relevant facts are set down. Finally, the position of the human personality as regards heredity on the one hand, and environment on the other, is considered; and the relative independence, the freedom, and the responsibility of the self are unhesitatingly affirmed. Man is a part of the natural world, but he is nevertheless, as moral and spiritual, superior to it. The rest of the book is occupied with an examination of certain Christian problems, some social and some theological, in the light of these facts. Marriage, education, pauperism, intemperance, crime are reviewed at length. The moral conditions and ends of marriage, the ethical character of education and the need of attending to the peculiar individuality of every child, the desirability of State action for the destruction of vicious environment, the importance of investigating the criminal's ancestry, the necessity of extending the Church's mission in the social direction, the wisdom of endeavouring always to awaken a sense of responsibility and worth, are among the points emphasised. These chapters cannot be summarized here, but they may be cordially commended to all open minded social reformers. Many facts not elsewhere easily accessible are collected, and many suggestions are made as to the lines along which future reforms must move. The theological discussions are partly dogmatic, partly apologetic. In the dogmatic section the drift of the thought is determined by practical considerations, and the question asked is how we must modify our working theology in the light of what has gone before. The modifications

urged are mainly these. Guilt is not the sole possession of the individual sinner, but whoever may have had a share in transmitting the tendency to the sin is a partner in it. Retribution is not an arbitrary thing, but is ever determined by the light granted and the ability to resist that is enjoyed. Unanimity of belief is not demanded of us, for belief is infinitely conditioned by our past, but only the teachable mind and the loyal spirit which are within the reach of all. Salvation is not mere remission of penalty. It is nothing less than a purification of the stream of inheritance, it is deliverance from the law of heredity so far as it concerns the possession and the necessary transmission of an evil nature. We may think the author mistaken in some of his contentions, and the emphasis may not always seem rightly placed, but we can hardly judge what is the present truth demanded by the American theological environment. In any case it is a service to have brought these questions together, and striven to answer them from this point of view. For this is part of the Apologetic the age requires, and it naturally leads in the book itself to matter more directly apologetic. This includes a brief argument for Christianity and a lengthy defence of the divinity of Christ. The argument is that Christianity makes progress possible by supplying motives adequate for progress under the established conditions, that the happiness of men depends upon the validity of Christian truth, and that what always and everywhere makes for blessing cannot be false. The defence is that Jesus cannot be explained by natural heredity, direct or otherwise, that we cannot co-ordinate Him with the men of supreme genius, and that we are compelled to fall back upon the Scriptural explanation. This part of the book is the least satisfactory, though many points are admirably stated. The writer is strongest where he takes for granted Christian principles and makes his appeal to the Christian conscience. He is not so convincing when he appeals to the outsider, and is apt to take more for granted than any capable disputant on the other side would allow. But in this respect Dr Bradford is not peculiar, and he sins less than some other Apologists.

The positive value of the book lies in its social discussions, and, though their character makes it impossible to review them briefly, they are the most prominent feature in its pages. Many of the expositions of social duty could hardly be bettered, and not seldom the words breathe the noble passion of Christian citizenship. The sections dealing with theoretical ethics and theology do not pretend to offer any final solutions, but they raise in an interesting way many of the most serious questions now before us, and set us upon thinking. Among other matters open to criticism, attention may be drawn to the estimate of the bearing of Weismannism upon the

problems under discussion, and to the conception of freedom held by the author. But of all the questionable contentions in the book the most significant, because the one most inconsistent with the general drift of the argument, and yet the most difficult to avoid when theology is approached from the scientific side, is that contained in the section dealing with the doctrine of salvation. Dr Bradford's language is vacillating, but he seems to lean to the view that salvation means deliverance not only from tendencies towards evil and wrongdoing, but from the necessity of transmitting to others a polluted nature. Those who accept the new life from Christ are not only new creatures, but in a new and spiritual succession whose legacy to the future is the very life they have received from Christ. But what proof can be given of this? And if, as all admit, the new birth delivers from the bondage of parentage, why should it be so needful to transmit the new life? If the salvation in Christ was enough for the parents with the nature they had, will it not be enough for the children to whom the nature has been transmitted? Salvation is more a matter of environment than of heredity, but we degrade it whenever we try to explain it by either category. The moral and the spiritual are higher than the merely natural, and there is danger alike for morality and for religion in everything that reduces the moral initiative and effaces the spiritual personality. The materialism we drove out at one door will return by another, and we shall find that instead of a living Christianity we have a science where faith and grace are lost in force and law, or a sacerdotalism where they are sunk in ritual and institutions. The one exalts the natural, the other the supernatural, both distrust and depreciate the rational and the ethical, both at the last make shipwreck of true religion. It were much to be wished that some master of spiritual philosophy and Christian ethics, with a competent knowledge of the scientific results, would take up the many problems raised in the latter part of this work, and give them such solution as is possible for our time. Meanwhile Dr Bradford is to be thanked for this pioneer volume, and American theology is to be congratulated upon the production of a book which no future student of its subject can afford to neglect.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON.

A Compendious Syriac Dictionary.

Edited by J. Payne Smith. Part I. Clarendon Press. Pp. 136, 10 × 7½. *Price,* 8*s.* 6*d. net.*

IT is a sign of the times that, after referring to the discovery made by Mrs Lewis, we are able next to announce the work of

another lady in Syriac philology. The first part of the abridgment of the late Dean Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, by his daughter, has lately appeared. Although "compendious," the work will not be short: Part I. extends to less than half of the seventh letter of the alphabet. The abridgment is effected chiefly by omissions of the long quotations in the Thesaurus from native grammarians, and the exclusion of all references, except a very few to the Bible. Thus the article on *Athar* (a place) is reduced from 88 lines to 24, the latter lines being about one-third shorter than the former. The root meanings of the words are given without actual quotations of the cognate forms, and the various senses are set forth with a copiousness that seems to leave little to be desired. A list of derivatives is given at the end of the article on their root. This will be helpful to the student. In the Thesaurus some derivatives are to be found only in another part of the work. But we fail to see what has been gained by the translation into English. It is inconceivable that any Syriac scholar should be unable to read the Latin of the *Thesaurus*, but the language of the *Compendious Dictionary* may somewhat hinder its use on the Continent. G. H. GWILLIAM.

Collatio Codicis Lewisiani Rescripti cum Codice Curetoniano.

Auctore Alberto Bonus, e Coll. Pemb., Oxon. Clarendon Press. Pp. x. 95, 11¼ × 8¾. *Price,* 8*s.* 6*d. net.*

IN our January number, p. 15 (*Communication on the Lewis Palimpsest, &c.*), it was stated that a collation of this MS. had been undertaken by an Oxford man. The book has now appeared. It is printed in the best style of the University Press, on stout paper, in size to range with the Cambridge edition of Mrs Lewis' codex. The author explains that his purpose has been to compare the Lewis text with that of Cureton, quoting the Peshitto where necessary, or desirable, for illustration. The variations are arranged in columns, and the work will be valuable to many at home and abroad in the discussions as to the origin of the extra-Peshitto text, which Mrs Lewis' discovery has revived. The collection is for Syriac scholars only, as the texts alone are given, without any translation. The Peshitto text is illustrated by select readings of the Vatican copy of the Syriac Gospels, written A.D. 548. While many inferences may hereafter be drawn from Mr Bonus' columns of variations, even a brief examination of them will show the reader (1) that the Lewis and Cureton MSS. differ

greatly not only in words and phrases, but also (as showing a difference of origin) in the divisions of the text; and (2) that the Peshitto is confirmed to a remarkable extent by the ancient witness cited in support and illustration. G. H. GWILLIAM.

Jesu Muttersprache. Das galiläische Aramäisch in seiner Bedeutung für die Erklärung der Reden Jesu und der Evangelien überhaupt.

Von Arnold Meyer. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896; *London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. xiv.* 176. *Price, M.*3.

THE title prefixed to this interesting volume indicates the importance of the subject the author has undertaken to handle. He has treated his theme not only with the fulness of detail which the works of German scholars never lack, but also with a clearness of methodical arrangement, in which (as we Englishmen think) they are sometimes deficient.

In dealing with the language employed by our Lord in His earthly ministry, a difference is observable between the theory of theologians and their practice. Some, but we think they are very few, are openly followers of Vossius (see *Mutterspr.* p. 18 and n. [1]); most scholars would admit that some dialect of Hebrew (or Aramaic) was the vernacular of Palestine in the first century of our era; yet in all kinds of theological writings, whether critical or devotional, the references to the text of the Holy Gospels constantly assume that the Greek words are those which were actually uttered by our Lord. But until it has been proved that He spoke Greek, the Greek words of the Evangelists must not be quoted as if they were His. To the Christian, Catholic or Protestant, they will be inspired translations; but to hear the actual sounds and syllables, we must seek for the Semitic original (see pp. 5, 69), and in the many cases where the language of the Evangelist is obscure or ambiguous, certainty may be attained if we can restore the text which underlies the version. It will be well, however, here to declare our conviction that the reconstruction of the original is a hazardous operation, and the results attained as likely to be false as true.[1] They rest to a very large extent on hypothesis. The intrusion of a very small fact may upset the whole edifice.

[1] Compare the wise caution given by Dr Driver on re-translations, in his review of the newly discovered original of Ecclesiasticus, in the *Guardian* of July 1st.

The *Muttersprache* of our Lord and his first followers was the vernacular of Palestine, or, at least, of Galilee. It was either Greek or some Semitic dialect, for the conceits of Inchofer (p. 16) and Harduin (p. 19) need not detain us (see p. 59, par. 2). The warm advocacy of Greek by Dr Alexander Roberts, and the appearance of the work under review, show that a question still exists; but the arguments and facts which have been adduced by our author, and by such writers as Duval, Neubauer, and Cust, or in the monograph of Archbishop Clement David, of Damascus, suffice to dispose finally of the claims of Greek. We believe also that there is no evidence to show that the inhabitants of Palestine generally spoke Greek as well as their Semitic vernacular (see pp. 25, 26). There remains the question, what was this vernacular? Was it Hebrew, Aramaic, or, as Deutsch thought,[1] a mere jargon of both, with Greek and Latin words. To give a precise answer is not easy. Deutsch's view is an exaggeration; but our materials do not suffice for a full description of the dialect. We are warned (p. 155) against being carried away by the opinion of Lagarde, that the language of the *Palestinian Version* represents the dialect spoken by our Lord. Between A.D. 40 and the composition of that version, however early a date we assume, many linguistic changes in a popular dialect could take place. The *Jerusalem Talmud* (see p. 59) may furnish some evidence, but the difference in dates again suggests extreme caution in drawing conclusions. The best information is afforded by the native words actually preserved in a few places of the New Testament; but the evidence to be derived from them is meagre in the extreme, and somewhat obscured by their transmission through transliteration.[2] For all we know, these words, the Talmud idiom, and that of the Palestinian Version, may represent as many dialects, contemporaneous with the form of Aramaic spoken in Samaria, and a modern Hebrew prevalent in Jerusalem. The linguistic conditions of England, especially as they existed fifty years ago, would have found place in Palestine. Differences of dialect are compatible with possibility of intercourse, and acquaintance with a common form of written language.

The arguments for our author's main contention may be summarized and re-stated as follows. (1) The population of the Holy Land in the time of Christ was mainly, and in some parts almost exclusively, Jewish. This will not be doubted as regards Judea. The country was not entirely depopulated by the Chaldean invasion,

[1] *Literary Remains*, "The Talmud," p. 42. Such a patois is conceivable, and the Negro jargon of Jamaica affords an illustration.

[2] Thus ἐφφαθά is explained by the Aramaic *eppethach* or *eppattach* (p. 52), but in *Studia Biblica*, i. p. 56 (Neubauer) by the Hebrew *hippathach*. For μαραναθά, "Our Lord come," is preferred by Meyer to "Our Lord has come."

and the gaps were filled up by the returning exiles. The subsequent period of Jewish ascendency, created by the Maccabean victories, tended to re-establish Hebraism throughout Palestine. Although in Galilee the population was more mixed, yet it was in our Lord's time chiefly Jewish, by descent or by absorption into the dominant race: else would not He, whose declared mission was "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," have devoted most of His ministry to teaching in Galilee. (2) The instances in history are rare in which a nation has changed its language for a wholly alien tongue. Those who adopt the views of Dr Roberts, ask us to believe that the Jews, although surrounded by the Semitic speaking tribes of the South, and on the East of Jordan, though bordered by the Phœnicians, and in perpetual contact with the Aramaic population of Syria, had abandoned their ancestral tongue for the alien speech of Greece. Such a change did indeed take place amongst the men of the *Diaspora*, who lived in Greek lands, and in this was one chief difference between the Hellenists and their Palestinian brethren. (3) The threefold inscription on the Cross implies that Greek—the Latin being the official notice—was not understood by all; an interpretation in the vernacular was necessary. Peter bewrayed himself by his pronunciation. It is not known that Greek was pronounced differently in Jerusalem and in Galilee, but it is recorded that the Northern pronunciation of Hebrew letters differed from that of the South (see p. 59 and n. [1]). (4) The testimony of Philo and of Josephus to the existence of a *patrios glossa* different from the Greek, which was known only by the few, is justly insisted on[1] (pp. 39-41). (5) The proper names of persons and places are adduced; but to us it seems that the example of our own land shows they are not conclusive evidence of the existing language. A passage, however, like Acts i. 19 cannot be thus explained away; and still more significant are the vernacular remains preserved by St Mark.

It is unreasonable to oppose to these facts the supposition that as Greek had become the language of commerce and of literature, and had extended its domain over the greater part of the civilized world, it had been adopted by the Jews of Palestine. The supposition ignores the peculiar characteristics of the race, and is without historical support (see p. 60). It has been argued that a passage such as St Luke i. 28 implies the use of Greek, as the alliteration belongs to an original and not to a translation. But although the angel perhaps could not have saluted the Virgin in Aramaic or Hebrew with that precise form of words, it would not

[1] Independent testimony is borne by the Syrians. In *Ancient Syriac Documents* (Cureton and Wright) p. 8, the followers of Christ are described as "Hebrews, and only knowing the tongue of the Hebrews."

be inconsistent with the genius of a Hellenistic translation to have introduced an alliteration, in imitation of Old Testament style. Exact rendering was less sought than a clear representation of the sense of the original. Much has been made of the use of the LXX in the Gospels. The quotations prove nothing with reference to the native language of the Evangelists. One who wrote in Greek would naturally employ the well known Greek version for quotations, unless reference to the Hebrew was required for a special purpose. Many of the quotations in the New Testament are translated from the Hebrew; not a few are derived from forms of text not now extant. It has been thought that the conversation between our Lord and the Syrophœnician woman was carried on in Greek; but her native language was closely related to Hebrew, and if there was not enough in common for a short, though memorable, conversation, many an interpreter must have been at hand in that border country. We do not deny that our Lord could speak Greek; there is no evidence on either side. Matthew the tax-gatherer might require Greek in the way of business; Luke was a Hellenist; Mark was the interpreter of St Peter, and St John certainly employed Greek during his residence at Ephesus; but Greek was not the vernacular of Palestine,[1] and therefore was not the language spoken in teaching the common people.

An interesting *geschichtlicher Ueberblick* of the views held on the question in various ages occupies twenty-eight pages. This is followed by an account of the Aramaic dialect, and arguments for its use in Palestine in the time of Christ. It is shown that by *Hebrew* in many ancient writers is meant Aramaic in contrast to Greek, and not the classical Hebrew. Yet (see p. 38) the language of the Jews was not Chaldee, as has been absurdly supposed, brought from Babylon by the returning exiles. It resulted from the gradual corruption of the ancestral Hebrew by contact with the surrounding dialects. We are ourselves inclined to believe that a purer language was preserved in the homes of the Pharisees, and perhaps prevailed in Jerusalem and Judea. The recently recovered fragments of the original of Ecclesiasticus tend to show that a pure Hebrew could be written about two centuries before Christ.

Considerable space is devoted to the attempts which have been made to reproduce the vernacular which is represented by the Greek of the Evangelists. The author makes copious references to those who have laboured in this department, but, as far as we have seen, he does not refer to the researches of Professor Marshall, though he follows him in seeking an Aramaic basis, against Delitzsch

[1] The *Vita Porphyrii ep. Gazenis* (Muttersprache, p. 156), shows that Greek was not understood by all even in the fifth century.

and Resch (p. 30). The *Anhang* includes an interesting history of the interpretation of the phrase, "Son of Man." The orthodox, in reading the earlier remarks on this expression (p. 99), will remember that German views of the Holy Gospels are not always such as we commend. The account of the *Syr. Hier. und christ.-paläst. Dialekt* is useful. For the sake of English scholarship we wish the author had known of the last edition of Scrivener; he refers to that of 1874. Useful indexes close the volume; but in C. 3 (p. 174) there is the strange explanation, *Cur* = *Syrus Sinaiticus ed. Cureton.* Everybody knows that the fragments were brought from Egypt. The error is not corrected in the Table on p. xiv.; and we have noticed some misprints in addition to those in the author's list.

G. H. GWILLIAM.

Analytic Psychology.

By G. F. Stout, M.A., Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, University Lecturer in the Moral Sciences. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896. 2 *vols.* 8*vo, pp.* 289, 314. *Price,* 21*s.*

THESE volumes form part of the third series of the Library of Philosophy now being issued under the editorship of Mr Muirhead, this series consisting of original contributions to philosophy, the first and second series being historical. The work abundantly justifies its right to the place assigned it, being full of independent thinking and original and subtle argument. It is, as would naturally be expected, an important contribution to the literature of its subject.

The author professes to follow in the main the lines of the traditional English method; he, however, furnishes a striking illustration of the peculiarities which mark the psychological thinking of to-day; the atmosphere, the point of view and the governing ideas are all different from those of the past. The danger is lest some truths should be discredited while others are brought to light and emphasized.

The aim of the author is to bring systematic order into the crowd of facts concerning our mental life by analysis of ordinary experience. The function of psychology is to describe, analyse and arrange. The present work is an analytical investigation of the developed consciousness as the prelude to the genetic treatment of the subject. The author professes to pass by whatever appears capable of more efficient treatment from a genetic point of view, and this must be borne in mind in any attempt to describe or

estimate the present volumes. The genetic treatment or method proposes to itself the task of tracing the evolution of mind from its lowest to its highest planes. The preliminary task is to ascertain and define the processes of the developed consciousness as we now find them. Such is the author's account of his aim and purpose. His strongest psychological interest lies in certain genetic questions, and especially in those on which ethnographic evidence can be brought to bear.

Psychology is defined to be the positive science of mental process. It is a "positive" science, because it investigates matters of fact. It is the science of "mental process." The meaning of this may be stated in a few words. Consciousness includes every possible kind of experience. The term is not synonymous with the term mind, though mind exists wherever consciousness exists, it being the abstract of which mind is the concrete. Mind is regarded as the unity of manifold successive and simultaneous modes of consciousness in an individual whole. This unity, however, necessarily implies conditions which are not themselves modes of consciousness. Present conscious process is conditioned by prior conscious process; and this is only intelligible if we suppose that past experience leaves persistent after-effects, which continue when the corresponding consciousness has ceased. Accordingly, "mental process" involves the operation of these residual traces. It is, therefore, not a conscious, but an unconscious process. The inquiry is as to the exact nature of this unconscious constituent of mind, and it is the discussion of this subject that is a distinguishing feature of the present volumes.

The work is divided into two parts or books. The first, consisting of six chapters, furnishes a general analysis of consciousness, while the second investigates the laws both of mental process and of the origin and growth of certain products of mental process—products which emerge in the normal course of the evolution of every human mind; and these are taken, as far as possible, in the order of their occurrence. The first part is clearly and confessedly preliminary only to the second.

In his general analysis of consciousness the author allows that there are modes of consciousness which do not admit of generic derivation, which do not find their place in the evolution of conscious life, and which, at the most, only admit of definition or description. This department of psychology is purely analytic and largely introspective. The point of view is statical, not dynamical; it is not concerned with the transition from one state of consciousness to another; its aim is to discover the ultimate irreducible constituents of consciousness in general—a preliminary but important inquiry.

In the investigation which occupies the second part, the point of view is dynamical; the general laws and conditions are investigated according to which change takes places in consciousness, the method being in one way analytic, in another synthetic. An exposition in genetic order is promised in a future work.

There are some points in the first part which must be noticed. In the first place, the Kantian and Hamiltonian classification of the faculties or capacities of the soul is rejected, on the ground that it rests on no positive principle of division. Such a principle is found in the mode in which consciousness refers to an object, and this furnishes the division of ultimate mental functions. The point to be regarded is the attitude or posture of consciousness towards the object, and nothing in the nature of the object. This also gives a threefold division, as the Kantian method does, only an essentially different one, viz., *Presentation*, where the object is simply presented to consciousness; where the subject is simply aware of the object as an immediate content of consciousness: *Judgment* or *Belief*, where, in addition, consciousness affirms or denies the object: *Feeling* and *Conation* or Desire, where the will is affected by the object.

In regard to Presentations, the analysis of these—since to analyse is to assign the component elements of a complex—must consist in distinguishing, within a total Presentation, the partial Presentations which enter into its composition. The object of thought is never a content of consciousness; if the object exists at all in the sense in which the thinker refers to it, *i.e.*, means or intends it, it exists independently of this consciousness; in a sense, thought and object may be called two aspects of the same fact, but the existence of the object as the thinker himself views it can never be identified with the mere existence. As to the constituents into which analysis resolves the object analysed, these must be discovered, not created; a condition which it would seem impossible to fulfil in the case of Presentations, because their immediate existence as transient contents of consciousness is all the existence they have, and no components may be attributed to them in analysis which have not constituted part of their content at the moment of their appearance in consciousness. This difficulty is discussed with much acuteness, but the discussion cannot be summarised. Distinction is drawn between analysis of actual experience, sense perception, and analysis of psychical disposition, the first alone being regarded as analysis of Presentations.

The author next discusses the connection between our cognisance of form of combination and our cognisance of the parts combined, and concludes that our cognisance of the form of combination characteristic of a whole—take for example a melody—is a mode

of consciousness distinct from our cognisance of its constituents. The form of combination may remain the same, or relatively the same, while the constituents vary.

Implicit apprehension is the apprehension of a whole independently of the apprehension of its component details: where the implicit apprehension of the whole is combined with the successive apprehension of each of its components, so as to control the order of their emergence and to exclude the intrusion of irrelevant objects, you have *schematic apprehension*; and this constitutes the essence of whatever may properly be termed a train of thought. These distinctions are turned to excellent account when the author subsequently discusses the doctrine of association, and separates the conception of noetic synthesis from that of association.

The second part of the work, constituting the most important part of it, deals with mental processes as distinguished from mental products. And, first of all, the author analyses the concept of mental activity. The term activity is regarded as referring to a process. Mental activity is a process in consciousness traceable to previous consciousness, as, under the law of inertia, the continued motion of a body is traceable to its pre-acquired momentum. Activity is not a mere synonym of causality, as in popular language; where scientific explanation is required, each of the contributing factors concerned in a process must be regarded as active precisely in so far as it determines the nature of the result. The application of the term activity to mental process is not in any sense metaphorical: the conception of psychical force is not derived from that of physical force, but the reverse: the metaphorical use of the term is to be found in its application to material change, not in its application to mental. All this is fully worked out. The author is in conflict with those who speak of a purely passive consciousness, as, *e.g.* when Professor Baldwin says that consciousness is not a power or energy of the mind; on the contrary, there is no purely passive content of consciousness, no content which is not in some manner or degree a modification of our total mental activity. He is in conflict also with Mr Bradley, who identifies activity with voluntary activity; voluntary activity is only a special form of activity; there is activity which is not voluntary. Professor James, too, is criticised for identifying the activity of the self with certain particular items of our conscious experience to the exclusion of other items.

The discussion of the doctrine of attention, considered as a mental process, and defined to be the self direction of the mind to an object, seems to me to be of peculiar value, though it is impossible to set it forth in these pages. The characteristics of the attention process—its systematic complexity, and the systematic

unity of its successive phases—are clearly brought out; while many questions, relating more or less intimately to attention, are carefully considered and commonly set in interesting lights.

The author next proceeds to the systematic examination of "noetic synthesis," as it appears at different levels of mental life, in simple perception, complex perception, image or idea and conception, considering at the same time its connection with associative process; noetic synthesis meaning that union of presentational elements which is involved in every reference to a single object, or, in other words, in their combination, as specifying constituents of the same thought. It is by noetic synthesis that those complex psychical units come into being which we call percepts, ideas and concepts. Here there are many discussions at once interesting and subtle. The conception of noetic synthesis is clearly separated from association. In the contest between psychologists who champion association and those who champion apperception, our author sides with the latter.

After treating of relative suggestion, where some exceedingly important points emerge and are dealt with in a discriminating way; and of the concurrent development of conation and cognition; an interesting chapter is devoted to apperception, a term used by our author to include all such processes as understanding, interpretation, identifying, subsuming, and the like; it is the process by which the mental system appropriates a new element, or otherwise receives a fresh determination. In almost every moment of waking life an apperceptive process is taking place: whenever an object is attended to, the presentation of it is perceived, those aspects of the presentation which are congruent with the apperceptive system acquire special significance, others remain outside the sphere of the attention process. The physician will at a glance detect in a patient symptoms which have escaped the anxious scrutiny of friends and relatives, the reason being, not certainly in the greater intensity of his interest, but in the circumstance, that in his mind an apperceptive system has been organised which they do not possess, enabling him to know what they fail to know. Apperceptive activity involves a systematic combination of the elementary processes of simple suggestion, relative suggestion, conflict, and so forth. Its main value is that it enables us to knit together, in their natural unity, the separate threads of psychological theory, and to include, in a single view, the various aspects and elements of mental process which would otherwise only be treated of in distinct chapters. The author fully discusses the various relations of the apperceptive process.

Under comparison and conception it is pointed out that Locke's surmise that animals do not perceive relations, but that the human

mind alone does this, receives remarkable support from recent experimental inquiry by Mr Lloyd Morgan into the nature of animal intelligence. It is under this head that generic images—a subject on which Mr Francis Galton has laboured so diligently—are considered with independence and care.

The remaining subjects are Thought and Language, Belief and Imagination, Pleasure and Pain, completing an investigation of the utmost interest, and two volumes that worthily take rank in the series of which they form a part.

Enough has been said to show the nature and quality of the work. Throughout the volumes there are scattered acute criticisms of many writers. Some of these will provoke reply; many will awaken inquiry, and result, in some cases, in modifications; but nothing will alter the fact that in these volumes we have a noteworthy—perhaps I ought to say brilliant—contribution to the Psychology of the day. VAUGHAN PRYCE.

Schopenhauer's System.

Schopenhauer's System in its Philosophical Significance. By William Caldwell, M.A., D.Sc., Professor of Moral and Social Philosophy in the North-western University, U.S.A. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1896. *8vo, pp. xviii.* 538. *Price,* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

THE nebulous mysticism wherein the unrest and half-culture of the "end-of-the-century" seek a perilous comfort has at length brought Schopenhauer the long desiderated and longer delayed attention. But, just on account of its source, the flattering notice he now receives is not invariably marked by equally flattering discrimination. The burden of public apathy and of academic contempt has been removed; the distinction of serious and non-partisan estimate has hardly been conferred yet, at least by the English-speaking peoples. Some of us hold Schopenhauer as a prophet and more than a prophet, others are constrained to regard him as little better than a blasphemer, few, if any, have fairly and squarely set themselves to discover his positive contribution to the march of speculative thought. Professor Caldwell's "Shaw Fellowship Lectures" are important, apart from all detailed criticism, because they embody the first systematic effort to remove this reproach. They represent a laborious attempt to answer the question, What—indiscriminating applause and violent antipathy aside—is the value of Schopenhauer's system so far as, at the present (early) time, we can see? As such they are worthy of careful attention, and compel no small approval.

Touching, as it does, upon all the great problems of philosophy, and often expressing definite opinions with regard to them, the work abounds in controversial matter; and Dr Caldwell would be the last to anticipate complete agreement with all his conclusions. It is vulnerable, as I think, more on general points than in detail. Yet its main defects are inseparable from its chief excellencies. By an almost inevitable process, Dr Caldwell tends to dwell more on the strength than on the shortcomings of his author. There is a tendency to throw Schopenhauer's besetting sins into shadow, and to pass by some of his principal limitations. The repellent pretentiousness, vulgar intolerance, and repulsive irreverence of the man are not sufficiently blamed. I cannot agree that they are even set down, as they might easily have been, in a treatise conspicuous for fairness and balance. Once again, in his refreshing reaction against the overweening "cocksureness" of some Hegelians, and in his sane opposition to the dry intellectualism of many idealists, Professor Caldwell betrays a leaning towards an abstract treatment of the Will, as if it, in separation from the other psychological primary constituents, were sufficient to provide a basis for a complete philosophy. The stress laid upon the office of Will is timely and important, but several expressions employed in this connection bear a distinctly dangerous construction—or misconstruction. Finally, much as he might approve the matter of the work, Schopenhauer could hardly extend invariable commendation to its manner. The style is unequal. Here and there excellent, even pointed, sayings meet the eye, yet sometimes the sentences jar the ear or puzzle the mind for a moment. When, in a single sentence, the infinitive occurs six times, and is backed by a seventh "to" as the sign of the dative, one cannot help protesting (p. 94). Quite a number of similar instances might be cited. It must be enough here to mention this example, and to insist that style enhances a philosophical work greatly; indeed, as matters generally stand, it is of the last importance.

Yet, as has been said already, the defects of Professor Caldwell's work are probably inseparable from its merits. The author's perception that Schopenhauer was no mere dreamer, but a significant thinker, has insensibly led him to that kindliness towards faults to which many might take legitimate exception. The sympathy, indispensable to a fair estimate of any philosophical system, is responsible for the tendency to over-emphasize the importance of Schopenhauer's contribution to the theory of Will. And this is in no wise lessened by Professor Caldwell's altogether justifiable opinion, that in their forgetfulness of the office of Will, the great German idealists led themselves into many difficulties that might have been avoided, and created problems which, after all, are more

apparent than real. The defects of style, too, cannot be harshly treated, for they are the obvious accompaniments of a desire to eschew fine writing, to be rid of phrase-making, and to lend the clearest possible expression to ideas that have hitherto been only too much obscured by technical or misleading language. No doubt, Professor Caldwell was handicapped by the fact that the time for a final treatise on Schopenhauer has scarcely arrived. We stand too near him, and are still profoundly troubled by conflicts raging round not a few of the chief problems to which he was so ready to give dogmatic solution. Nevertheless, the book is remarkable for its sanity, and no future worker in the same field can afford to neglect it. The very circumstance that Professor Caldwell has no system of his own is, at the present juncture, of happy omen for his appreciation of this author.

Not one of the chapters into which the book is divided lacks interest, and several are distinct contributions, not merely to the history of philosophy, but also to the elucidation of fundamental questions. While the first chapter, on "Schopenhauer's Significance," is disappointing in some ways, mainly on account of Professor Caldwell's reaction from panlogism, that on "Schopenhauer's Idealism" furnishes compensation. The analysis here elaborated of the kinds of idealism, and of their relation to Schopenhauer's modes of thought, is both original and striking. Curiously enough, chapters three and four present a similar contrast. The latter, on "The Bondage of Man," is clearly superior to the former, on "Schopenhauer's Theory of Knowledge." Indeed, one may say generally, that when Professor Caldwell treats the psychology and ethics of his author, he is happier than in the more distinctively abstract spheres of epistemology and metaphysics. There are two excellent sections on "Schopenhauer's Philosophy of Art," and the discussion of his "Philosophy of Religion" presents many points of interest, although it suffers from a lack of a definite view on the writer's part and from his undeveloped religious affinity. Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that these very traits are by no means without value to one who desires to mete out just measure to the Frankfort pessimist. More than likely they might be absent in a work on another subject from the same hand. "The Positive Aspects of Schopenhauer's System" are summed up in a fine piece of analysis. But here, more markedly than elsewhere, Professor Caldwell's tendency to treat the Will abstractly masters him. Yet there is a remedy for this. And many will, consequently, look forward with interest to the period when Professor Caldwell, having forsaken the process of double refraction, proceeds to furnish forth a systematic treatise embodying his own interpretation of the "World as Will." Till then it would be premature to pass censure

on a reading for which this volume supplies much relative evidence. If careful scholarship can lend aid in the future, Dr Caldwell has it in unusual measure. R. M. WENLEY.

Life and Letters of Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., sometime Hulsean Professor and Lady Margaret Reader in Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

By his Son, Arthur Fenton Hort, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 1896. 2 *vols. cr.* 8*vo, pp.* 475, 505. *Price,* 17*s. net.*

No fitter motto could have been selected for a life of Dr. Hort than the sentence which is given on the title page of these volumes —" A life devoted to truth is a life of vanities abased and ambitions forsworn." The words are those of Dr. Hort himself, and they go to the heart of a character and a career which it is good for us to know. To have left that career unwritten would have been unpardonable. To write it so as to secure the interest and appreciation of the public was nevertheless an anxious undertaking. To tell the story of a scholar who courted the shade, whose years passed quietly by without great event or stirring passage, who sacrificed all ambitions for the sake of the studious pursuit of truth, is not an easy task for any one to face. It becomes a much more difficult task when the biographer is the subject's son. A critical biography is then out of the question, as Mr Hort confesses, and the risk is great that the writer may either fall by reserve into a flat and colourless narrative, or else be betrayed by filial feeling into exaggerated statements. Mr Hort has avoided both extremes. The father deserved all the veneration of the son, but the son's reverence has not led him to pitch his note too high. Neither has the sensitiveness which is natural to the son in such circumstances been allowed to take the life out of his account of the distinguished father. Mr Hort deserves the praise of having done his part with perfect taste, with good sense and admirable sobriety, and with such a regard for the absolute truth of things as that by which his father was so honourably known. He has given us, in short, the kind of memoir which one is glad to have—a memoir just in its estimates, attempting neither too little nor too much, entirely frank and fair in the particulars which it furnishes, and taking abundant advantage of the materials provided by Dr. Hort himself. Fortunately, though Dr. Hort lacked the faculty of unbosoming himself in conversation except in the case of his few most intimate friends,

he had a remarkable gift and a no less remarkable unreserve in letter-writing. His turn in this direction asserted itself even when he was a boy at school, and all through his life it was in his correspondence that he made the freest discovery of his opinions and his sentiments. He left behind him a great mass of letters, and these have been used so as to make him speak for himself. We are brought in this way very close to the man, the scholar, the churchman, the politician, the teacher, the friend, the father. Mr Hort has judged rightly in giving his narrative this form. His book is one that will be prized by scholars, and by no means by these alone. It will help even those who were most closely associated with Dr. Hort, and enjoyed most of his friendship, to know him better; and it will reveal to those outside that very select circle much that will have the force of novelty and surprise. It discloses a variety of gifts, a fertility of ideas, a multitude of pursuits, a width of interests for which few can have been prepared. At the same time it throws no veil over either his limitations and prepossessions or those failings and defects of which he was himself acutely conscious.

The particulars of his life are sufficiently told in these memorial volumes. The first volume gives the story of his parentage, his school days, his career in Cambridge as under-graduate and as graduate, and the first period of his ministry. The second volume opens with the years which the state of his health compelled him to spend in Cheltenham and among the Alps, and with the last period of his parish work. The bulk of it is devoted, however, with excellent judgment, to the narrative of his life and work as Lecturer and Professor in Cambridge, his associations with Drs Lightfoot, Westcott, and others, and the various literary projects, finished and unfinished, in which he became engaged. Some prayers and hymns of his composition are printed in an appendix. An excellent index is provided, and a list of his printed works is given. Mr Hort has done well to add a full report of the meeting which was held in Trinity College Lodge on the 22nd February 1892, for the purpose of providing a suitable memorial. The addresses which were delivered on that occasion are worth preserving in this way. They have more than a passing interest. They have the value which belongs to the careful estimates of distinguished men, who could look at Dr Hort and his work from very different points of view.

Fenton John Anthony Hort was of English extraction, but Irish nativity. He was born in Dublin on the 23rd April 1828, the son of Fenton Hort, grandson of Sir John Hort, Consul General at Lisbon, and great-grandson of another Hort who was brought up a Nonconformist, became the life-long friend of Dr Isaac Watts, afterwards joined the Church of England, and rose to be Archbishop of Tuam.

His parents returning to England and settling in Cheltenham, he was sent to the school of the Rev. John Buckland at Laleham when he was eleven years old. Here he received a training in exact grammatical knowledge, which was a happy preparation for his future work. In 1841 he entered Rugby, not long before Arnold's death, when John Conington was the best boy in the Sixth Form. Here he had the advantage of the instructions of Mr Bonamy Price, of whom he always spoke with enthusiasm, and to whom he held himself more indebted than to any of his school teachers. "To him," he declared so late as 1871, "I owe all scholarship and New Testament criticism." In Rugby he was led to decide for the Church as his profession, and a letter sent to his parents at the time, shows the serious consideration with which he made his choice. In these Rugby days, too, the death of his bright young brother Arthur "desolated him with a grief," as the narrative expresses it, "which, young as he was, had made a permanent mark upon him."

In October 1846 he went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in which city the most of his active life was destined to be spent. In the University he gave himself to a wide range of subjects, classical, philosophical, and scientific, and earned a variety of distinctions. He entered with zest into the whole life of the place, and took an energetic interest in the great questions and movements which were then engaging men's minds—Christian Socialism and others. In due time he obtained his Fellowship, and finished his residence in 1856. Next year he was presented to St Ippolyts-cum-Great-Wymondley, a small College living about two miles from Hitchin. Here he was married, and settled down to the careful discharge of the duties of a rural vicar. His parochial ministry lasted fifteen years. It was interrupted by a breakdown in health, which made it necessary for him to abstain from parish work during the years 1863-1865. It came to an end in 1872, when he removed to Cambridge to take up a position for which he was better suited. He valued his work and loved his people in St Ippolyts, and spared no pains to do his best for both. But his natural reserve, his inability to bring himself alongside men, and the difficulty which he had in adapting himself and his ministrations to a flock like that of St Ippolyts, stood in the way of that measure of success and comfort in his work for which he longed.

It was in some sense, therefore, a relief to himself and to his friends, though not without its regrets also to him, when in December 1871 there came the offer of a Fellowship and a Lectureship in Theology in Emmanuel College. For six years he continued to lecture to students of Theology in that College on Origen, Irenaeus, Clement, and several of the New Testament books. In 1878 he

was elected to succeed Dr J. J. S. Perowne in the Hulsean Professorship of Divinity. In 1887 he was elected to the Lady Margaret's Readership in Divinity on the death of Dr Swainson. But in all these positions his work continued essentially the same. The nineteen or twenty years which he spent in Cambridge as Lecturer or Professor were years of congenial and fruitful work. His life, which had always been a toilsome one, became still more crowded, if that were possible, with labours and endeavours of many kinds, notwithstanding it was beaten by physical infirmities. These were the years when he gathered around him a band of disciples, to whom his name became a kind of *cultus*, and in which he did his most important work. These were the years in which he published his *Two Dissertations*, and many of his best articles in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and elsewhere; in which, too, he saw the completion of the *New Testament in Greek*, on which Dr Westcott and he had spent a quarter of a century of conjoint patient toil.

It is by this last work that he will be best known. It is a curious fact, however, that the pursuit of those studies in which he became most distinguished, and in which he has done such signal service to sacred learning, was less of his own choice and preference than the result of circumstance. His original intentions and hopes lay in another direction. Towards the end of his life, in 1889, we find him expressing himself thus—"It is only by accident, so to speak, that I have had to occupy myself with texts, literary and historical criticism, or even exegesis of Scripture. What from earliest manhood I have most cared for, and what I have at all times longed to have the faculty and the opportunity to speak about, is what one may call fundamental doctrine, alike on its speculative and on its historical side, and especially the relations of the Gospel to the Jewish and Gentle 'preparations,' and its permanent relations to all human knowledge and action." This is a remarkable statement. From some things which he has left behind him we can judge how much he might have achieved in those departments of inquiry to which he refers as the subjects of his earliest and most cherished desires. But it would be difficult to suppose that he could have done more for his time than he has done by his work on the Revised Version and the Greek Text of the New Testament. In the scientific enunciation of the principles of Textual Criticism, he has not only carried on the succession of the great critics, but has surpassed them all. In this he has accomplished a work which is not for one generation, but for many.

Mr Hort has devoted a good many pages to a statement of his father's contributions to Textual Criticism, his idea of the science, his classification of documents, the principles and methods on which he proceeded. We are glad that he has done so. The importance

of the subject, the misapprehensions to which Dr Hort's criticism has been exposed, and the difficulty which those unversed in these matters have in following him through all its details, make such a statement appropriate in his biography, and in Mr Hort's pages we get a clear and succinct exposition of the second volume of the *New Testament in Greek.* That volume surpasses all that has been written before or after it in scientific grasp of the problem. Had Dr Hort done nothing else than write this exposition of principles he would have had a distinguished position among Biblical scholars. He claimed nothing like finality himself for his criticism, neither need anyone claim that for him. But the text at which he laboured with Dr Westcott, and the discussion of methods which we owe to him in the second volume of the work in question, may be safely said to represent the best that the materials at our disposal have made it practicable to attain to. It will remain a notable memorial of searching investigation and scientific procedure. It will form the starting point for such changes and developments as the enlargement of our materials may make possible.

But though these important studies engaged so much of his time and energy, they were by no means his only studies. For nothing indeed was he more remarkable than for the great range of his interests and pursuits. He had a large acquaintance with botany, a taste for which showed itself in his earliest youth. He had a great talent for historical and philosophical enquiries. He was a skilful exegete, and a diligent student of early Christian literature. His letters reveal to us a mind keenly interested in many different lines of inquiry, and able to deal with each of them with knowledge and authority. The breadth of his interests and the variety of his gifts became indeed his weakness. They betrayed him into diffusing his energies over too large a field for any one to master, and into the habit of projecting more literary undertakings than even the most unwearied of workers could overtake.

The amount of published matter that he left behind him is considerable, and it is all of the greatest value. It is but a small part, however, of what he thought of accomplishing. His extreme fastidiousness stood in the way of large production. He had such a sense of what the work of a parish vicar should be, and such difficulty in satisfying himself with anything that he did for his pulpit and people, that his preparation of discourses became a perfect pain to him. The same extreme fastidiousness, the same exacting idea of what the mastery of a subject implied, clung to him in all his academic and literary work. It gave to everything that he did publish an unusual worth and weight. But it stayed his hand too often from publication, and left him with much unfinished that had occupied him for years.

The independence of his mind was seen in his religious, ecclesiastical, and political relations as in all things else. He was of the evangelical school by his mother's training and other early influences. But he felt the force of the Oxford movement, and he came largely under the spell of Coleridge and Maurice. To Maurice he probably owed more than to any other religious teacher. Writing to Kingsley he speaks of Maurice as the man "to whom we both, I believe, owe under God nearly all the better part of our being, and not least the desire, and in part the power, of calling no man our master, but learning the truth from the strangest and most dissimilar quarters." His admiration for Maurice was profound; yet it is the case that he called no man master in these things. He was a pronounced Churchman, and seems neither to have understood Nonconformity nor to have allowed himself much intercourse with Nonconformists. Yet there was much in the High Churchmanship of his time with which he had small sympathy. He declared himself to have "a deeply rooted agreement with High Churchmen as to the Church, ministry, sacraments, and, above all, creeds, though by no means acquiescing in their unhistorical and unphilosophical treatment of theology, or their fears and antipathies generally." And he could both appreciate and help those who did not think with him. He could keep his head cool even in times of keen political agitation and do justice to political opponents. While even men like his friend Dr Westcott were tempted to think all manner of evil of Mr Gladstone in connection with the Bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, he gave him ungrudging credit for honesty and purity of motive.

But it is impossible to say here all that these volumes suggest. They tell us much that is of the deepest interest about the progress of Dr Hort's studies, his literary projects and their fate, the associations which he formed with many distinguished men, his attitude to the social movements of his time, his opinions of books and their authors. They furnish us with many choice criticisms of English men of letters and of theologians of many schools. They help us above all to understand better than before one of the richest thinkers, most profound scholars, and most disciplined and many-sided intellects that Cambridge has nurtured in our day.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Kirchenrecht according to Sohm and Kahl.

Lehrsystem des Kirchenrechts und der Kirchpolitik. Von Dr Wilhelm Kahl, Professor der Rechte an der Universität Bonn. Erste Hälfte. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8*vo.* *M.*1.50.

PROFESSOR KAHL, now of the University of Bonn, has, during the last twenty years, published various books on the Church law of

Bavaria, Westphalia and Mecklenburg. But he has also written an elaborate treatise on the general German law as to ecclesiastical endowments, and ten years ago he edited the *Kirchenrecht* of Richter-Dove. That he should at length put forth a *Lehrsystem* of his own might be supposed to be in the ordinary course of things. But it is not so, as he explains in his preface. This ponderous book, only the first half of which (dealing with introductory questions and general principles) is before us, is really an occasional treatise. It is no doubt an institute of Church law. But it is built up in order to meet the *Kirchenrecht* of Sohm, who has advanced the brilliant paradox that the relation of the Church to Church law is a relation of hostility and contradiction. "Das Kirchenrecht steht mit dem Wesen der Kirche in Widerspruch." We shall borrow our account of Sohm from his generous adversary, for Kahl acknowledges that Sohm is not only a master in the realm of Church history and law, but already a "classic of the German tongue." And we shall find some reason to think that if we take *Kirchenrecht* in the sense accepted by both combatants, the truth is not unequally divided between them.

The apostolic church, Sohm holds, had no regular constitution or development. The original *ecclesia* had no bounds or locality: it was wherever two or three Christians assembled. And the whole body had only a *charismatic* organisation. The special charisma was that of teaching; and the functions of the Church were various as this or that truth was taught by it. But it has as yet no constitution. It was only as the Christian community became gradually transformed into organised corporations that it came to have to do with law, and the change was effected by the use of the Eucharist and the exclusive claim of the bishop. The degeneration from a "charismatic order" to a *Rechtsordnung* was effected when the Christian community became legally identified as the "community attached to a bishop." Then Christianity was exchanged for Catholicism; and a spiritual community for a legal community, with a fixed constitution. Luther, like the other Reformers, saw this, and he at least rejected all Church law, divine as well as human—rejected Church law "as such." "Die Kirche Christi will kein Kirchenrecht" is the sum of the Lutheran teaching, while the Reformed branch of Protestantism, on the other hand, demanded a church which, like the Catholic, should possess a constitution and a law. It is true that the Lutheran churches have now fallen under the sway of *Kirchenrecht*, even more than the Reformed. But that was by the usurpation of authority (*Obrigkeit*) over them by the German princes, largely after Luther's death, and contrary to that great man's original principles, though he submitted to it as an unfortunate necessity. But since his time

they have accepted it more and more continually. And so, "while the early Church was a purely spiritual, and the Catholic Church was a worldly-spiritual organisation, the Evangelical Church (alike in the judgment of law, and as it stands before us to-day) is a purely worldly organisation." It may subserve the purposes of the real Church of Christ, but it is not, and it does not even represent that Church. For the nature (*Wesen*) of the Church is spiritual; but the nature of *Recht* is worldly; and the relation of the one to the other is a relation of hostility or even of contradiction.

So far Sohm. Kahl points out that Adolph Von Scheurl of Erlangen has, especially in his book on the *Selbständigkeit des Kirchenrechts*, partly anticipated and partly answered Sohm. In his own answer he alleges three errors in Sohm's argument just stated. 1. Sohm assumes that the original charismatic organisation of the Church was to be permanent, and permanently binding. That is not so. There is no permanent or unalterable organisation. Catholics hold that there is, in the interest of the *Jus Divinum*, which is their *Recht*. But Protestants leave room for a free development of the Church according to outward circumstances and inward principles; and of these inward principles *Recht* is one, and it leads inevitably to a *Rechtsordnung* of some kind. 2. Sohm, Kahl complains, identifies the Church with the kingdom of God. But the Church is not that kingdom: it is not even its *Darstellung*. It is rather a means to the inbringing of the kingdom throughout the world; and the Church works towards this by a long *Werdeprocess* in which it must recognise that *Recht* has an important place. That place the Church must recognise even in its own affairs; but this gradually increasing *Rechtsordnung* is not opposed to the being of the Church; rather, it is advantageous to its well-being. 3. Sohm nowhere clearly defines what he means by *Recht*, and throughout his book he tends to mix it up with the right to use force. But that is at best one of the privileges of *Recht*: it is not its being. *Rechtsgewalt* must not be identified with *Zwangsgewalt*. There is a function of law, of *Recht*, in the Church itself, prior to anything of the nature of force. That function is the function of order—of making the Christian community feel that it is a community, and arrange itself accordingly. Law, as force, is originally outside the Church. But law as a regulating power—*Recht als Regel*—is within it and of it from the beginning. And it cannot therefore be, as Sohm would have it, opposed to its original being. No doubt the essence and spirit of the Church is love. But when the community and its members have recognised that, the original *Liebespflicht*, in the process of *Rechtsordnung*, gradually becomes a *Rechtspflicht*. No doubt force comes in later on. (How it comes in belongs to Kahl's

doctrine of the relation to the Church of the State.) But if force, when it does come in, is used only to keep the Church legally together upon the lines of its original foundation—which were love and self-sacrifice—then *Recht*, even when it is backed, as in the development of human things it comes to be, by occasional force, is still essentially in harmony with the Church and with its original principles.

Kahl's answer to Sohm seems substantially sound, and the principles on which he bases the existence of *Recht* in the original Church of Christ seem to prove also its permanence in that Church through all time, its *Selbständigkeit*, and its development *ab intra*. But *Kirchenrecht*, as an historical product in modern Europe and modern Germany, shows a very different result, and requires not only another history but another theory to account for it. And Kahl, in revulsion from Sohm's "*stoffreich und geistvoll*" book, goes on to build up *Kirchenrecht* not only as it might have been, or as it ought to have been, but as it is. He adheres, indeed, to the definition of it as the *Gemeinschaftsordnung* of the association of believers in Christian truth. But he points out that this implies the selection or approval of a creed, apparently by the State; and also that the Church must be distinguished from the sects. *Kirchenrecht* is a part of public law, or, at least, in order to its existence it must be acknowledged by the supreme power (a view which, of course, deprives the ancient Church of it during its first three hundred years, and restores to Sohm half of his case. Coercion and force are not necessary, Kahl grants, to the being of a Church. But they are necessary to its well-being. And as they can only be derived from the State, and as the State will not meddle with the inward dispositions of church members, but only with their external relations to word, sacrament and organisation, and even with those only with a view to carry out the original plan and purpose of the Church, *Recht* must always be viewed in its relation to the supreme power. Not that Church power or functions are derived from the State, but they must always be exercised within and under the State, which has a certain duty of superintendence and supervision, guardianship and restriction, over every association within it. This is the system of the *Kirchenhoheit* of the State, which is rightly described as the *herrschende System* of modern Germany, and which is sketched with much more ability in the well-known book of *Richter-Dove*. It is, of course, difficult to find a theoretical basis for it; indeed it seems stamped on every side with the mark of compromise between systems which are more consistent but not convenient to carry out in practice. In a chapter entitled "Diagnosis and Prognosis," Kahl refers to the system of

"Co-ordination," but remarks that it is only practicable when one of the parties is the Catholic—by which he means the Roman Catholic—Church. But by co-ordination he means rather what we should call the system of Concordats, in which the bounds of the action of the State and the Church respectively are determined, not by general principles, but by positive and detailed agreement between the two parties. Nowhere in this volume is there an attempt to reason out the question whether the duty of the State would not be sufficiently discharged by its recognising the *Rechtsordnung*, which Kahl has proved to be natural and necessary to the Church, and therefore an existing fact, as simply existing; and by its dealing with it (when applied to by anyone having interests to carry it out into civil affairs), on the same principles of fairness and justice as are applied to other facts within its scope. In his Prognosis our author admits the attraction of separation of Church and State as the chief programme for the future. It is a scheme which combines "simplicity, equity and freedom for both parties." It has thus a certain magic for the democracy on the one side, and for the High Church on the other. But it is not the ideal—"at least so far as the relations of Church and State in Germany are concerned." It means on the one hand unlimited freedom of belief to the individual, but on the other, absolute indifference to truth on the part of the State. But the main argument against it is derived from the international and extra-territorial position of the Roman Catholic Church, which should not be set absolutely free; for the State is bound to maintain its rights, even if, as Bismarck found with the May Laws, it is unable to push them as far as it desires into the region of actual Church function. And even if separation is to be the scheme of the future, there should be no sudden or radical breach with the past. The true road is that of Reform. But even Reform (in the direction of the Church and the State each confining itself more to its own matters) must be within the State and carried out under its *Hoheit*. The State must in all cases fix for the Church its boundaries of action. It is plain that if this is the meaning of *Kirchenrecht* (as distinguished from mere *Recht*), Sohm had a good deal to say for his theory of a hostility between it and the early Christian Church. But *Recht* and *Kirche* are really related to each other originally; and there will one day be a *Kirchenrecht* that can stand upon its own feet.

A. Taylor Innes.

Die Palästinensischen Märtyrer des Eusebius von Cäsarea, &c.

Von Bruno Violet. Texte und Untersuchungen: XIV. Band, Heft 4. *Leipzig,* 1896. *London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.* 8*vo, pp. viii. and* 178. *Price, M.*6.

EUSEBIUS of Caesarea, in closing his catalogue of martyred Bishops (H.E. viii. 13. 7), undertook to provide a more detailed account of those martyrs with whom he or his friends had been personally acquainted. The carrying out of this purpose has always been recognised in the short work περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν μαρτυρησάντων, more commonly known as *De Martyris Palestinensibus*, which is found in most MSS. of the Ecclesiastical History. It is usually found as an Appendix to Book viii., though portions of it, the beginning and the end, are probably embedded in viii. 24 and 17. In other MSS. it appears at the end of Book x., and in at least one good MS. it is wanting altogether. But besides this, which Harnack calls the "shorter" recension, there is another "longer" recension, which is found either in whole or in part in Greek, Syriac and Latin. Part of one Syriac version was published by Asseman (1748); another, which is complete, was edited from a MS. in the British Museum by Cureton (1861), who showed conclusively that the Syriac is a translation. The Greek original, which must have been in existence in the tenth century, when it was in the hands of Simeon Metaphrastes, has since disappeared, with the exception of the section on the Martyrdom of Pamphilus and his companions. Of the Latin version the Martyrdom of Procopius is preserved by Valerius, that of Pamphilus by Lipomanus (1551).

It is the relation between these various versions of the longer recension, and the relation between the "longer" and the "shorter" recensions, of which Violet gives here a careful study. He has been fortunate in discovering further material in another portion of the Greek text containing the Martyrdom of Theodosia, which he has found in a Menology of the Munich Library. He has also collected a number of scattered fragments of the same text from other Menologies and Synaxaries. The first half of the work consists of a collection of these various versions of the longer recension. The foundation is provided by a careful translation of Cureton's Syriac text with the relative portion of Asseman, Lipoman, and the Greek text in parallel columns. This very complete and convenient collection of the material is followed by a discussion (pp. 121-174).

It will suffice here to summarise the results at which Violet arrives; the evidence is derived entirely from a minute comparison

of the texts. (1) Asseman's Syriac is derived from Cureton's. (2) Many of the variations in the former are due to an intention to modify in an orthodox sense all those phrases in the latter which lean towards Arianism by suggesting the subordination of the Second Person. (3) The titles in Cureton's version are probably due to the author himself. (4) It cannot be maintained (as Viteau has lately done) that the longer recension is more oratorical and didactic than the shorter. (5) Both recensions are the work of Eusebius; but whereas Lightfoot concludes that "the shorter recension belongs to a later work in which the sufferings of the martyrs were set off against the deaths of the persecutors," Violet maintains that in the shorter we have a "Vorarbeit gar nicht für die Öffentlichkeit bestimmt"; the longer is "undeniably a far better constructed work"; the martyrdoms are related on a more consistent scale. It is to be observed also that while the longer recension was translated into Syriac as early as 411, and excerpted in all the old Menologies, Greek, Syriac, and Coptic, of the shorter there is not a trace save in the Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrologies directly deriving thence. Violet therefore concludes that in the shorter recension we have a first draft which has been preserved only by an accident. C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

Notices.

It would have been strange if so notable a divine and academic teacher as the late Dr James M'Cosh of Princeton had been suffered to pass away without some record of his strenuous and successful career. It is a satisfaction, therefore, to have now a *Life*[1] of the distinguished President, prepared by one who knew and appreciated him, by no means too long, and presented in a very handsome form. It is all the greater a satisfaction that the book is in the main an autobiography. The editor does not obtrude himself, but lets his subject tell his own story. There are reasons why we could have wished a Life of another kind, with more of an independent estimate of the man, and with more art in the narrative of his career. But in the circumstances of the case, and with so much matter in Dr M'Cosh's own hand, the editor has probably chosen the more fitting way in keeping himself in the background, and attempting little more than to give his subject's own memoranda and letters with the necessary connections and explanations.

Born in 1811 and dying in 1894, James M'Cosh lived through the most part of the century. He followed with an open and discern-

[1] The Life of James M'Cosh. A Record chiefly Autobiographical. Edited by William Milligan Sloane. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. vi. 287. Price, 9s.

ing eye the movements in political, social, scientific, philosophical, and religious affairs by which it has been distinguished. For sixty years he was himself an energetic worker, taking an active interest in most things that occupied the public mind, exercising a considerable influence in this country, and a larger influence in America. He was the friend and associate of many of the leading men on both sides of the Atlantic. His recollections of old times, therefore, and his matured and final judgments on controversies, changes, and endeavours which occupied much of men's attention and interest a quarter of a century or half a century ago, are worth having. These form a large part of the book, and they are full of interest.

His active career was divided between Scotland, Ireland, and America. Educated in the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, he became a minister of the Church of Scotland, first in Arbroath and then in Brechin. When the long conflict over the rights of the people and the freedom of the ecclesiastical courts in Scotland came to its close, he threw in his lot with Thomas Chalmers, of whose policy he had been an enthusiastic supporter, and whom he continued to revere as the greatest man he had known, and became a minister in the Free Church of Scotland. The publication of his book on *The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral*, drew the attention of the learned world to him, and led to his appointment to a Chair of Logic and Metaphysics in Belfast. The next eighteen years of his life were spent in useful work in Ireland. But in 1868 the President of Princeton College died. Dr M'Cosh was elected to succeed him, and the rest of his career was passed in America. He gave twenty years of laborious service to Princeton, raising the College to great eminence; enlisting the munificent support of the wealthy for the many schemes which he projected for its enlargement and better equipment, and gathering round him bands of devoted students. He taught much, and wrote on many subjects, educational, religious, scientific, and above all philosophical. His ambition was to found a philosophical school in Princeton, and he did much for the promotion of metaphysical studies in America. In some things he was ahead of the current thought of his class and country. On the question of Evolution, in particular, he took a liberal and enlightened position long before the trend of American opinion even among the educated went at all that way.

From the *Life* we can see what James M'Cosh was—a Scot of the Scots, a man with obvious mannerisms and limitations, but of indomitable resolution, extraordinary powers of work, acute intellect, and deep religious conviction, a patriotic citizen, too, and a lover of nature and of home. The book will be read with interest both for what it shows of Dr M'Cosh himself, and for what it has to say of

many distinguished men, Carlyle, Chalmers, Sir William Hamilton, The Marquis of Dufferin, Mr Gladstone, Thomas Guthrie, Alexander von Humboldt, The Chevalier Bunsen, Hugh Miller, Michelet, Christopher North, and others.

The value of the investigations which Dr H. Clay Trumbull gave to the public in his book on *The Blood Covenant*, has been widely recognised. In that book his object was to explain the origin of sacrifice and the significance of "transferred or proferred blood or life." The facts which he registered there were seen to have an important bearing both upon certain doctrines of Scripture and upon some of the most deeply rooted ideas of the Ethnic systems. He publishes here a volume of a similar kind on *The Threshold Covenant; or, The Beginning of Religious Rites.*[1] It enters what is to a large extent an untrodden field. It has all the charm, therefore, of novelty, and it brings together a mass of facts not less important or interesting than those given in the former book. The primitive family altar, the earliest temple altar, the sacred boundary line, the Hebrew "Pass-over or Cross-over Sacrifice," and the Christian Passover, are among the subjects which it handles. On all these it has much curious matter to submit, which points to conclusions of great importance. It exhibits in particular the primitive character and world-wide extent of the rite of the Threshold Covenant, with the ideas attached to it. It seeks an answer to the question how primitive peoples in all parts of the world came to give a sacred meaning to the threshold of hut, tent, cave, house, palace, temple, and domain, and to "count its crossing by blood a form of holy covenanting between the parties engaged in it and the deity invoked in the ceremony." His induction of facts leads him to the result that this threshold rite takes us back to the beginning of family life, that it originated in the "covenant union between the first pair in their instituting of the family relation," and that "blood was early recognised as life, its outpouring as the pledge and gift of life, and its interchange as a life covenant between those who shared its substance." The history of the ideas connected with this rite, the outgrowths of the rite, and its chief perversions, are also carefully stated. In connection with the main topic, too, other subjects of great interest, such as the symbolism of the tree and the serpent in Scripture and elsewhere, come under consideration.

The important series of publications issuing from the Clarendon Press under the general title of *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, proceeds with happy regularity. The ninth part of Vol. I.[2] (Semitic Series) is now

[1] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 335. Price, 6s. 6d.

[2] Anecdota Oxoniensia. Texts, Documents, and Extracts, chiefly from manuscripts in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries. Semitic Series, Vol. I., Part ix. Edited by G. H. Gwilliam, B.D., Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford, F.

before us. It contains a number of Biblical and Patristic Relics of the Palestinian Syriac Literature. These are published from manuscripts in the Bodleian, and in the Library of St Catherine on Mount Sinai. The Biblical and Apocryphal Fragments include: Exodus xxviii. 1-12a, Wisdom ix. 8b—x. 2, 3, Kings ii. 106-15a, and ix. 4-5a, Job xxii. 3b-12. They are taken from two leaves which are connected, as we have them, with the leaf of *Numbers* formerly published. There is not a little to favour the idea that these leaves belonged originally to one and the same MS. An examination of the caligraphy, however, leads the editors to conclude that that was not the case, but that two of them at least are separated by a considerable interval. In addition to these we have a number of fragments of Ancient Homilies which were discovered by Mrs Bensly in the binding of a late Arabic MS., in 1893, in the Convent of St Catherine. These Homilies treat of St Peter and the Flood, and contain some curious things. Ararat is taken as Christ the Rock, on which "The wandering Ark of the Gentiles finally rests." There is the story, too, of the Cedars which Noah was instructed to plant, with a view to the building of the Ark; which is taken to be rather a Jewish legend than a Christian. The original text is given in each case, and is accompanied by a translation and explanatory notes. The names of the editors, Messrs Gwilliam, Burkitt, and Stenning, are guarantees for trustworthy work. In 1893, Mr Gwilliam published *The Palestinian Version of the Holy Scriptures: Five more Fragments recently acquired by the Bodleian Library.* In the present volume he refers to that work, and notes certain additions and corrections occasioned by a fresh collation of the Bodleian Fragments made by Mr Stenning.

The late Dr Alfred Edersheim's *History of the Jewish Nation*[1] supplied a felt want when it was originally published in 1856. Nor has anything quite taken its place since then. When Dr Edersheim wrote it, he was a minister of the Free Church of Scotland in Old Aberdeen. He went afterwards to England, and became associated with the scholars of Oxford. It is a fitting thing, therefore, that two Oxford names should appear on the title page of this new edition. The book is revised by the Rev. H. A. White, of New College, and has the benefit of a Preface by Professor Sanday. It required to be brought up to date in many things, so long a time having elapsed since its first issue. Mr White has done the editorial work with judgment, making all the changes and additions which the circumstances of the case require or permit. All material

Crawford Burkitt, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, and John F. Stenning, M.A., Senior Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1896. 4to, pp. 113. Price, 12s. 6d.

[1] London: Longmans. 8vo. pp. xiv. 533. Price, 18s.

alterations, which are due to the editor's hand, are carefully marked off as such. Under these auspices and in this new form, the book will have a fresh career of usefulness. Its style is pleasant and the grouping of its matter is good; occasionally it rises into eloquence. In not a few pages we feel the beat of the Jewish heart of the writer. Its most distinctive note perhaps is its Rabbinical learning. Critical students will no doubt find in it much to dissent from and much to question. But it has qualities which do more than justify its republication, and in this revised edition it is likely to hold the field for a length of time with the mass of English readers.

It covers the entire period from the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus to the extinction of the Patriarchate and the final dispersion of the Jews. It begins with the story of the Commonwealth and the "closing scenes of the Jewish War of Independence." Then follow instructive chapters on the Dispersion, the political and religious state of the Jews after the destruction of their capital, etc. The history of the Synagogue is given at length from the return from the captivity on to the times after the last Jewish war. The seventh chapter furnishes a very vivid account of the last struggle of the nation under Bar Cochba. The closing chapters are of special interest for the account they give of the social condition of Palestine, the life of the people, their attainments in poetry, music, and science, and above all, their religious beliefs and theological ideas. Other subjects of importance, the Great Synagogue, the Calendar, Rabbinical Exegesis, &c., are dealt with in Appendices. The last Appendix, which is by the Editor, is on the *De Vita Contemplativa* ascribed to Philo, the genuineness of which Edersheim accepted. It gives a full account of the state of opinion on the subject up to the publication of Conybeare's work in 1895.

Dr James I. Good's volume on *The Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany* took a gratifying place among American contributions to Ecclesiastical History when it was published, now some eight or nine years ago. It has been followed by another volume on *The History of the Reformed Church in Germany*,[1] which continues the study begun in the earlier book. It embraces the whole period between 1620 and 1890, and gives an excellent account of the affairs of the Church, both external and internal. It opens with a well written chapter on the Thirty Years' War. In the five succeeding books it deals with the French Refugees, the Ravage of the Palatinate, Pietism, Rationalism, and the Union. In a concluding book it presents the statistics of the Church, and expounds its doctrinal position. It is a work that should have the attention of English students of the history of the

[1] Reading, Pa.: Daniel Miller. Cr. 8vo, pp. 646.

Church in Germany. The sketches of men like Lampe, Tersteegen, Krummacher, Jung Stilling, Ullmann, Lange, Heppe, and others, are of special interest.

We are indebted to another American scholar for a translation of Thelemann's instructive volume on the *Heidelberg Catechism.*[1] Thelemann's work is one of recognised value; it passed into its second edition in 1891. It gives a short introductory statement under the title of "Outline and Structure of the Catechism." It then takes each Question by itself, and expounds the Answer clause by clause. An important appendix follows, in which we have a succinct and informing history of the Catechism. The work furnishes an admirable guide to one of the noblest of all Confessional books. In this excellent translation English readers now have an opportunity of making themselves thoroughly acquainted with it. It will be to the loss of our common Protestantism if a document which gives so vital an expression to the great doctrines of the Reformed Churches is left unstudied and unappreciated.

In *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*[2] Dr F. H. Chase of Christ's College, Cambridge, continues the studies of which his volume on *The Old Syriac Element in the text of Codex Bezae* was the earlier result. In that volume he attempted to account for certain phenomena of the Bezan text of the Book of Acts, by the supposition of the operation of an Old Syriac Element. In the present volume he carries the inquiry into the Gospels. Here he has much more to work upon. In the Book of Acts he had no direct evidence to offer. In the Gospels he can work with the Sinaitic and Curetonian MSS., the Arabic Tatian, Ephraem's Commentary, and Aphraat's Quotations. His object is to make good the position that "assimilation to Old Syriac texts was a predominant factor in the formation of the Greek and Latin so-called 'Western' texts of the Gospels." He uses the term *Syro-Latin* text, *Syro-Latin* authorities, as preferable to the term "Western," which most feel now to be inexact. Taking Codex Bezae as the representative of this text, he examines in connection with it all the kindred authorities, especially, of course, the Old Latin. This is done in a very painstaking way. The questions on which critics are divided, especially as to the Latin and Syriac elements in the Bezan text, are by no means settled. But Dr Chase has constructed a very considerable argument in support of his position. The main conclusions which he reaches are these: that the Syro-Latin text was

[1] An Aid to the Heidelberg Catechism. By Rev. Otto Thelemann, Detmold, Germany. Translated by Rev. M. Peters, A.M., B.D., Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in the Ursinus School of Theology. Reading, Pa.: James I. Good. 8vo, pp. xxiv. 512.

[2] London: Macmillan & Co, 1895. 8vo, pp. x. 148. Price, 7s. 6d. net.

a gradual growth; that the approximate date for the Bezan text of Acts is 180 A.D., and that of the Bezan text of the Gospels between 170 A.D. and 180 A.D.; that the phenomena of the Bezan text appear to be due to definite assimilation to a Syriac text, or to the work of a bilingual scribe; that the interpolations in the Bezan text are explained by the circumstances that it "arose in a bilingual Church," and that the Syro-Latin text was "in process of formation before the second century was far advanced"; and that the most probable birth-place of the Syro-Latin text is Antioch. These conclusions are based on the fact that there are readings of different kinds in the Syro-Latin authorities for the text of the Gospels, which "betray their Syriac origin"; on the presence of abundant signs of harmonistic influence; on the nature of the interpolations and omissions; and on the fact that "Syro-Latin readings given by Codex Bezae are found in Irenaeus, Marcion and Justin."

The second number of the third volume of the valuable series of *Texts and Studies*, edited by Professor J. Armitage Robinson, contains the Latin version of the *Fourth Book of Ezra*,[1] on which the late Professor Bensly spent so much labour. It gives for the first time in print the entire book in the Latin version, the missing fragment of the seventh chapter which Professor Bensly was so fortunate as to discover being included. In preparing this interesting edition, Mr. Bensly was able to use four out of the five manuscripts. The fifth came too late to be completely available. The text is printed as it came from Professor Bensly's hands. It is accompanied by copious lists of various readings. It is followed by useful appendices and by indices of Latin words and proper names An introduction, extending to nearly eighty pages, is contributed by Mr. James, which gives full particulars about the manuscripts, the Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Armenian versions, the other writings attributed to Ezra, the ancient quotations from the book, and other matters. The volume is not all that it might have been had the lamented author been spared to carry it through the press. There are some slips, but they seem few. Mr. James has done his best with a very difficult task. The result is an edition both completer and more exact than those of Fritzsche and Hilgenfeld.

To the same lamented hand, with the help of Mr Barnes of Peterhouse, we are indebted for an admirable edition of the Syriac Version of the *Fourth Book of Maccabees*.[2] The volume is dedi-

[1] The Latin Version edited from the MSS. by the late Professor Bensly and M. R. James, Litt.D. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1895. 8vo pp. xc. 107. Price, 5s. net.

[2] The Fourth Book of Maccabees and Kindred Documents in Syriac. First edited on Manuscript authority by the late R. L. Bensly, M.A., Lord Almoner's

cated to Dr Ceriani. It is appropriately so dedicated, not only because of the well-known learning of Dr Ceriani, but for a personal reason. When Professor Bensly had begun the work of copying the Syriac text as contained in a Cambridge Manuscript, he ascertained that Dr Ceriani had it in view to produce an edition from a couple of Milan Manuscripts. He communicated on the subject with the Milan scholar, but the result was that in the most generous manner Dr Ceriani not only gave up his intention, but collated his own two MSS. for the English editor. The work, the printing of which began some twenty-five years ago, is at last completed. The Syriac text, covering over 150 pages, is given with the utmost care, as it was prepared by Professor Bensly. Most of it, indeed, (some 136 pages,) was printed under his own eye, while the rest was left all ready for the printer. Mr Barnes supplies the Introduction, and admirable translations both of IV. Maccabees itself and of the other documents here printed along with it. These are six in number, including a Discourse of Gregory Nazianzen; two forms of a Discourse of Severus, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch; an anonymous Discourse; a Madrasha of Ephrem; and an anonymous poem in twelve-syllable verses.

The Fourth Book of Maccabees is of no historical value. Its importance lies in the contribution it makes to our knowledge of Jewish thought and Jewish aspiration, in its relation to the New Testament, and in the question of the influence of Greek thought on Judaism. These matters, and also the value and affinities of the text, require further investigation.

The *Book of Joshua*,[1] in Haupt's critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament printed in colours, is by the hand of Professor W. H. Bennett, of Hackney and New Colleges, London. It is a comparatively small volume, but is done with care and moderation. The Critical Notes are brief and to the point. Nothing superfluous is introduced, nor is there any attempt at startling suggestions or speculations. A short account is given of the most recent forms of analysis proposed for the Book—as by Canon Driver, Mr Addis, and Herr Albers, and the differences between the several schemes are noticed. The work of Albers, while its ingenuity is recognised, is pronounced to be too minute and precise in its analyses for the data at our disposal. The presence of more than one Deuteronomistic hand in Joshua is admitted to be very pro-

Professor of Arabic and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. With an Introduction and Translations by W. E. Barnes, B.D., Fellow of Peterhouse, formerly Lecturer at Clare College. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1895. 8vo. Price, 10s. net.

[1] Leipzig: Hinrichs; Baltimore: John Hopkins' Press; London: David Nutt, 1895. 4to, pp. 32. Price, 3s. net.

bable. It is added, however, that "this or any other analysis of the $R^{D.}$ sections between two or more Redactors has not yet been sufficiently tested to be regarded as established."

Professor Reinhold Seeberg of Erlangen publishes the first part of what promises to be a very useful *Handbook of the History of Dogmas.*[1] The present volume covers the formative period in both the Greek Church and the Western Church. It brings the history down to John of Damascus, Leo IV. and the Nicene Council of 787 A.D., in the former; and to Caesarius, the Canons of Orange, and Vincent of Lerins in the latter. In his idea of Dogma and the history of Dogma, Professor Seeberg follows explicitly neither the school of Baur and Harnack, nor that of Kliefoth and Thomasius. He has made diligent use, however, of the works of these teachers, and of the most important monographs which have been published by other hands in recent times. The treatment of the subject is strictly in accordance with the idea of a Handbook. It is also almost entirely objective. The author's aim is to let things speak for themselves. The great advantage of the book is that in each case it gives in full the leading passages on which the statement of the dogmatic position of a writer or a council is based. The reader can thus form his own judgment on every important point.

Professor Hermann Schultz is to be congratulated on the issue of a fifth edition of his *Alttestamentliche Theologie.*[2] Published in 1869, the book at once took rank as one of the most important contributions to the subject of which it treated. By 1885 it had gone into a third edition, and in three years after that there was a call for a fourth edition. Much has been written, however, since 1888. Of the publications, great and small, which have appeared within these seven years, Professor Schultz has been an observant student. The best results of these have been worked into this fifth edition, and the author's statements have been modified by them here and there. Some things have been omitted, and others have been added. The amount of change is considerable. But it is limited to minor points, and matters of detail for the most part. In no case, so far as we have noticed, is any serious alteration made. The work remains substantially what it was in its conception of the subject, in its plan, in its general construction of the ideas of the Old Testament, and in its interpretations of the most important

[1] Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte. Erste Hälfte. Die Dogmengeschichte der alten Kirche. Erlangen und Leipzig: Deichert. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1896. 8vo. pp. xii. 332. Price, M.5.40.

[2] Alttestamentliche Theologie. Die Offenbarungsreligion auf ihrer vorchristlichen Entwickelungsstufe dargestellt. Fünfte völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1896. 8vo, pp. vi. 660. Price, M.10.40.

passages of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is so widely recognised as a standard book on the Theology of the Old Testament, that it is superfluous to speak at length of its merits or its conclusions. There are other treatises on these important questions which have much to commend them, notably Oehler's, especially as now so far brought up to date. But Professor Schultz's work has qualities which make it indispensable for the student, and will ensure its passing into further editions.

The Archdeacon of London publishes the *Charge*[1] which he delivered to the clergy and churchwardens of the Archdeaconry in the month of May last. It is a vigorous statement and defence of Evangelical doctrine as contrasted with the teaching of the Church of Rome. The main points of the controversy regarding Church, Scripture, Creeds, the Papal Supremacy and Infallibility, Sin and Forgiveness, Penance, Purgatory, the Sacraments, the Veneration and Invocation of Saints and Angels, Image-worship, and the Worship of Relics, are dealt with one after the other in the spirit of a strong and well informed Protestantism, yet with due respect for all that is most worthy in the Roman Catholic system, and with charity towards those who differ.

Under the title of *The Revelation of the Christ*,[2] the author of the *Ethics of Gambling* republishes, with certain changes, a series of papers which were written for the *Sunday School Chronicle*. They are unpretending but instructive studies of the main incidents in the Life of our Lord. They are meant to furnish an answer to the question, How did Jesus reveal Himself as the Son of God? They will assist those, and young readers more especially, who wish to be brought face to face with the words and deeds of the Son of Man in their power and beauty. Among the best studies are those on the Growth of Jesus, His Baptism, His Authority over conscience, His Method, and the Principles of His Kingdom.

Dr George Wandel, of Strassburg, publishes a commentary on the *Epistle of James*,[3] which is intended to meet the needs of the preacher as well as the scholar. It is addressed more to the former than to the latter. It takes no notice of questions of Textual Criticism, but accepts the text of Tischendorf. It gives the smallest possible place to the refutation of opposing

[1] Points at issue between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. The Fifth Charge of the Ven. William Macdonald Sinclair, D.D. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. xii. 114.

[2] Familiar Studies in the Life of Jesus. By W. Douglas Mackenzie, M.A., Acting Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 303. Price, 3s. 6d.

[3] Der Brief des Jakobus, exegetisch-praktisch behandelt. Leipzig: Deichert, 1896. 8vo, pp. iv. 195. Price, M.2.50.

views, and spends little time on the difficult questions of Introduction. Its grand object is to furnish, in connection with the exegesis of the several paragraphs, such an exhibition of the practical teaching of the Epistle as shall be of service to the preacher, to younger theologians, and generally to those who read for edification. In this respect the volume gives much that is useful and well-considered.

Other three parts, the second, third, and fourth, of Professor H. J. Holtzmann's *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie*,[1] are now to hand. The publication proceeds, therefore, with commendable expedition, and the work grows in interest. The second part is occupied with the contemporary world of thought, the theological system of the Synagogue, the Alexandrine theology, and the current ideas on angels and intermediate beings, the Messiah, the Logos, &c. In accordance with the peculiar plan of publication, it also deals with the Pauline doctrines of sin, death, and the Person of Christ. The third and fourth parts complete the statement of the Alexandrine theology. The Preaching of Jesus is then taken up, and expounded in its presuppositions, and in its relation to the Law. Along with this comes the continuation of the study of Paulinism. The Apostle's teaching on Reconciliation, on the Righteousness of God, and on Ethics, the mystic elements in his doctrine, and his Eschatology, are expounded in succession. The last two sections are of special interest. An important chapter follows with the title of *Rückblick und Ausblick*. The author then passes on to *Deuteropaulinismus*, beginning with the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is impossible, however, to do justice to the work until it is all before us.

Dr J. Hamlyn Hill has done a much needed service by the publication of his *Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of S. Ephraem the Syrian*.[2] We are already indebted to him for a translation of Tatian's Diatessaron from the Arabic version. In the present volume he gives us a welcome supplement to that, by putting us in possession of the Ephraem Fragments. The Introduction furnishes as complete an account of Ephraem himself as we can well get with our existing materials. The sources of our information, the particulars of Ephraem's life so far as they can be ascertained, his writings, and the various editions in which they have appeared, are all carefully stated. Dr Hill then proceeds to the main question, viz., whether the Gospel Commentary which we have in the Armenian edition of Ephraem's works and in the recent Latin

[1] Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo. Zweite Leiferung, pp. 49-96 and 49-96. Price M.1.50. Dritte und Vierte Lieferung, pp. 97-144 and 97-240. Price M.3.

[2] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 177. Price, 7s. 6d.

version of Dr Moesinger, is the work of Ephraem and based upon Tatian's Diatessaron. The result of an elaborate examination of the evidence, both external and internal, is that the Commentary is by Ephraem, and that its groundwork is the Diatessaron. In making his way to this conclusion, Dr Hill has prepared a remarkable list of parallelisms between passages in the Armenian Commentary and passages in other works ascribed to Ephraem. He comes next to the question how far it is possible to reconstruct the Diatessaron by bringing together in their proper order the passages quoted in the Commentary. The answer to this question is given in the form of a complete collection of the Ephraem Fragments, in the order in which they stand in the Arabic Diatessaron. These are given in an English translation, the only complete rendering which we yet possess of them in our own language. The text of these Fragments has been revised by Professor Armitage Robinson, and everything has been done to secure accuracy, and to bring the narrative and the criticism up to date. The usefulness of this laborious and scholarly book is increased by the addition of a very full Scripture Index to Ephraem's works.

Of Mr J. Fulton Blair's book on *The Apostolic Gospel*[1] we must at present say less than we should wish to say. It is the result of much patient toil, and, we doubt not, of a sincere regard for truth. There is much to commend in it. It is an independent and fearless book. It is also, in many points, an acute study of great and perplexing questions. It has many valuable suggestions. It presents old questions in new lights, and compels us now and again to test and revise our conclusions. On the other hand there is much in it to regret, not a little immaturity, and at times a brusque and off-hand way, which is not over-reverent or sufficiently considerate of all that is involved. The bulk of the volume is occupied with a critical reconstruction of the text, in which all the main passages in the evangelical narratives are examined in detail. It is here that there is most to question in the criticism and the exegesis, and most of all, perhaps, in the pages given to the narratives of the Resurrection. The "Apostolic Gospel," which Mr Blair takes to be the groundwork of the evangelical records, begins with the Baptism of John and ends with the Empty Tomb. Outside these limits all is unhistorical or contains unhistorical elements, whatever other value it may have. Within these limits, too, the critical knife has its work to do. The Papias tradition is not to be taken as correct. Mark's Gospel is of the nature of a harmony, combining the various traditions, at first oral and afterwards written, which were current in different parts of the primitive Church, and gradually took form in answer to the needs of the Christian community. On the pro-

[1] London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1896. 8vo, pp. x. 393. Price, 12s. 6d.

blem of the sources of our Gospels, as on many other things, Mr Blair takes a course of his own. Much that he says, however, would carry us into an examination too particular and too detailed for our present limits. Not a little that is advanced in this book will probably be re-considered by himself.

The second part of Professor Paul Drews's edition of Luther's *Disputations*[1] at Wittenberg will be cordially welcomed by all students of the German Reformation. This volume includes the third Disputation against the Antinomians (13 Sept. 1538); that De sententia: Verbum caro factum est (January 1539); the one De divinitate et humanitate Christi (28 February 1540), and others of various degrees of interest. There are also important appendices and admirably complete indices. The documents thus edited for the first time are undoubtedly of great value as regards our judgment of Luther himself, his many-sided genius, his gifts as an academic teacher, his relations to his students, and his ways of dealing with questions of acute public interest. They also contain many things which have an important bearing on the Reformation movement and its developments. The utmost care and pains have been expended on the production of the book. An addition has been made by it to the materials for our knowledge of Luther and his times, for which the laborious editor deserves the heartiest thanks.

We are glad to receive the third edition of Professor A. Sabatier's *St Paul.*[2] The book no longer needs any introduction to English readers. It has become almost as well known and valued on this side of the English Channel as on the other. It is a book full of fine and suggestive thoughts. It is not likely to carry the suffrages of all students of St Paul in the view it takes of the development of his ideas, or in all the points of its construction of his theology, but it cannot be read without impressing itself on the reader. In this revised and enlarged edition it will have a still wider acceptance.

We have received the tenth volume of Pastor Hermann Couard's Commentary on the New Testament, as also a second and improved edition of the first part of the same. The former includes the Epistles of Peter, Jude, and John,[3] the latter the Gospel according to

[1] Disputationen Dr Martin Luthers in d. J. 1535-1545, an der Universität Wittenberg gehalten. Zum ersten Male herausgegeben von Paul Drews, a. o. Professor in Jena. 2. Hälfte. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vi. 347-999. Price, M.23.

[2] L'Apotre Paul. Esquisse d'une Histoire de sa Pensée. Paris: Fischbacher, 1896. 8vo, pp. xxix. 424.

[3] Das Neue Testament forschenden Bibellesern durch Umschreibung und Erläuterung erklärt. Potsdam: Stein. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 176. Price, 1s. 9d.

Matthew.[1] The Commentary is meant for the general reader as well as for the Greek student. Its plan is to give a paraphrase of each section, and to follow this by a paragraph of explanatory remarks. These two volumes show that the plan is carried out with a proper regard to the two great ends of understanding and edification.

Professor John S. Banks, of Headingley College, contributes a volume to the *Books for Bible Students* series on *Scripture and its Witnesses.*[2] He proposes to answer these two questions: Why do we believe in the genuineness of the Scriptures? and Why do we believe their divine origin and authority? The first section deals with the first of these two questions, the old Testament and the New being handled separately. The second section, which is by much the largest, takes up the second question, and sets forth the argument as derived from a series of witnesses—that of Scripture to itself, that of Prophecy, that of Christ's life and character, those of history, miracle, Christ's resurrection, and personal experience. The last section grapples with the question of the Inspiration of Scripture. There are some excellent remarks at the outset, which have the spirit of Butler's teaching, on the nature of the evidence andthe degree of the certainty which we are entitled to expect. The attitude of writers like Kaftan and Herrmann to Scripture, and consequently to Christian doctrine, is entirely alien to Professor Banks, and is subjected to a criticism which at times goes rather beyond the mark. The "attempt to set up the teaching of Christ in the Gospels as the sole binding authority for Christians" is characterised as "the newest fashion in rationalistic interpretation." This is one of those overdone statements which meet us occasionally in the volume. Apart from that, however, there are some instructive criticisms of the distinction made between the teaching of Christ and that of the Apostles, especially as it is put by Wendt, and favoured by Dr Horton. The best part of the book is the statement of the argument for the Divine origin and authority of Scripture. At most points of the argument this statement is given in a clear and cogent way, free of weakening exaggerations. As a succinct and careful summary of the usual lines of Christian evidence, the volume should commend itself to many readers.

Thoughts on the Spiritual Life by Jacob Behmen[3] is a small book, admirable in its printing, attractive in its form, rich in its contents, which ought to be sure of a good reception. The translator has done her part with excellent taste. She will have the thanks of many devout readers for putting them in possession of this admirable

[1] 8vo., pp. xvi. 247. Price, 3s.

[2] London: C. H. Kelly. Small Cr. 8vo, pp. 221. Price, 2s. 6d.

[3] Translated from the German by Charlotte Ada Rainy. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 87. Price, 1s. 3d.

selection of those deep thoughts of the great mystic which are good for edification.

Professor Charles Foster Kent of Brown University writes on *The Wise Men of Ancient Israel and their Proverbs.*[1] The book is divided into three parts, in the first of which we have a series of instructive studies on the Hebrew wise men, the different types of the Wisdom literature, Proverbs in general, and the Hebrew Book of Proverbs in particular. The second part expounds the teaching of the Proverbs on man, his duties and the rewards of conduct, and on God, sin, sacrifice, prayer, the future life, and Sheol. A special chapter is devoted to the *Numerical Enigmas* propounded in the book. The third part contains a series of Supplementary Studies on the Social Teachings of the Book, and the use made of it by our Lord Himself. The volume is an able and useful one. It shows a competent acquaintance with the best recent scholarship on the subject. The important contributions made to our knowledge of the character and worth of the Hebrew sages by Professor A. B. Davidson and Canon Cheyne receive due acknowledgement. The author himself gives a very modest estimate of his book. It is worth all that he claims for it, and more.

President M'Garvey, of the College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky, writes on *Jesus and Jonah.*[2] The book gives first a statement on a recent Symposium in the *Biblical World* on our Lord's words respecting Jonah. This is followed by a review of the critical theory of the origin and character of the Book of Jonah. Professor Driver's account of the book is taken as the fairest representation of that theory, and is subjected to a criticism which does not penetrate far, although it is always respectful. The remaining sections deal with the question whether the story of Jonah is incredible, and with the import of Christ's declaration that the Son of Man should be "three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." The book is a strong defence of the literal, historical character of the story of Jonah in all its parts. In attempting to make this good, however, the author takes it too easily to be the case that we have the "solemn assertion" of our Lord Himself that the "leading incidents are real transactions."

The seventh volume of the *Expository Times*[3] is quite equal to any of its predecessors. Clergymen of all kinds and of every possible theological leaning or ecclesiastical liking will find something to suit them in its large and varied contents. Its list of

[1] New York, Boston, Chicago: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1895. Cr. 8vo, pp. 207.

[2] Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 72.

[3] Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. viii. 568. Price, 7s. 6d.

contributors includes writers of many different schools and churches, among whom are not a few of acknowledged eminence in their respective departments. The editor's own work, especially in the running paragraphs with which each number opens, is of the best quality.

The *Expositor*[1] has now come to the third volume of its fifth series. It has had a long and useful career, and it shows no signs of a diminution of its vigour. The present volume will stand comparison with any previous volume in the quality of the papers. There are several series of articles, those by Professor A. B. Bruce, Dr Dale, Dr Denney, Professor W. M. Ramsay and Professor Sanday, which have been followed with interest from month to month. There are also single papers of great value, among which Professor Kirkpatrick's on *The Septuagint Version: its bearing on the Text and Interpretation of the Old Testament*, and Professor Cheyne's on *A Forgotten Kingdom in a Prophecy of Balaam*, deserve special mention. There is little in the volume that one reads but once and is done with. There is much that will induce one to consult it again and again.

Missarum Sacrificia is the title given to a collection of "Testimonies of English Divines in respect of the Claim of the 'Massing-Priests' to offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt."[2] The purpose of the book is declared to be "to show the contrast between the tradition of the English Reformed Church and the doctrine which is unhappily being loudly proclaimed by some in her name." The catena of "Testimonies" begins with the declarations of Tyndal, Geste, Cranmer, Ridley, Hutchinson and Hooper, and closes with those of Law, Secker, Warburton, Tomline, and Cleaver. It is preceded by a long Introduction and a Supplemental Postscript. It is followed by three interesting appendices on the "Publication of Ælfric's Homily by Archbishop Parker," the "Two distinct senses of the verb 'to offer,'" and the "Mass-doctrine of Salmeron." The book professes to be no more than a compilation. It furnishes a notable series of passages on the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist.

The twelfth volume of the *Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften* consists of a collection of Canons of ancient Church Councils.[3] These are preceded by

[1] Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price, 7s. 6d.

[2] With an Introduction by the Rev. W. Dimock, A.M. London: Elliot Stock, 1896. 8vo, pp. 246.

[3] Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien nebst den Apostolischen Kanones. Herausgegeben von Lic, Dr Friedrich Lauchert, Professor am altkath. theol. Seminar in Bonn. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. xxx. 228. Price, M.3.50.

the Apostolic Canons, of which a brief account is also given in the Introduction. The Councils represented are those of Elvira 306, Arles 314, Ancyra 314, Neocaesarea, Nicaea 325, Antiochia 341, Sardica 343 or 344, Laodicea, Gangra, Constantinople 381, Ephesus 431, Chalcedon 451, Quinisextum 692 and Nicaea 787; together with three African (Carthage I., c. 345-348, Carthage II., c. 387-390, Carthage III., 397), two Spanish (Saragossa 380, Toledo 400), and three Gallican Councils (Valence 374, Nîmes 394, Turin 401). The Introduction furnishes brief but careful notices of the Councils themselves, the different editions of the Canons, and the most important literature on the subject. The various readings in the texts of the Canons are also carefully indicated in an Appendix. The whole is provided with an excellent index, which makes the book a most useful one.

Second editions have been called for, we are glad to see, of Professor Krüger's *Apologies of Justin Martyr*[1]; Professor Achelis's *Practical Theology*,[2] this being also an enlarged and improved issue; and Professor Lobstein's Christological Study on the *Doctrine of Christ's Supernatural Birth*.[3] The first edition of this last was published in French in Paris in 1890. The present issue in German is much more than a simple reproduction of the French edition. Much new matter has been worked into it, due to the criticisms to which the essay has been subjected and to the discussions which have been proceeding in connection with the problems of the Apostle's Creed. The plan of the work is to examine the traditional doctrine first from the exegetical standpoint, and in respect of its historical origin, and then from the dogmatic point of view, and in the light of its religious significance. The writer concludes that the traditional dogma must be given up; that the narratives of Matthew and Luke must be taken as the creations of the faith of the Church; but that, while this is so, we can hold with the greater certainty by John's report of Christ's declaration regarding Himself as "from above" and "not of this world."

The Rev. J. N. Ogilvie, M.A., Bangalore, writes on *The Presbyterian Churches, their Place and Power in Modern Christendom.*

[1] Die Apologieen Justins des Märtyrers. (Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Literatur.) Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. vii. 87. Price, M.1.50.

[2] Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften. Fünfte Abtheilung. Praktische Theologie. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv. 299. Price, M.6.

[3] Die Lehre von der übernaturlichen Geburt Christi. Zweite stark vermehrte Auflage. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1896. 8vo, pp. 65. Price, M.1.50.

The volume appears in two forms, in the smaller *Guild Text-Book*[1] edition, and in the larger issue of the *Guild Library*.[2] It begins with a chapter on the Restoration of Presbyterianism, in which Calvin's work obtains due appreciation. It next gives interesting sketches of the Presbyterian Church in France, the Netherlands, and other parts of the Continent of Europe. From this it proceeds to the history of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, Ireland, England and Wales, the United States, Canada, and the Southern Hemisphere. Under the title of the "Catholic Presbyterian Church," the closing chapter gives a succinct view of the Church's catholicity of range, numerical strength, services in the past, fitness for the present, and prospects for the future. The work is well done. The book supplies a mass of information, and presents an imposing view of the magnitude of the Presbyterian Communion. It is written, however, with a too obvious, though natural, bias in favour of the particular branch of the Presbyterian Church to which the author belongs; with an equally obvious leaning to State Churches generally, which form, however, but a small part of the vast Presbyterian connection; and with a very imperfect appreciation of the position of those who do not hold with the writer on the question of Establishment. This betrays him at times into some unfairness, and introduces a controversial leaven of which the book had better been free.

We notice a second edition of a tasteful little volume by Professor Lucien Gautier of Lausanne, admirably printed and illustrated, in which, under the title of *Au dela du Jourdain*,[3] he gives Notes of a Journey made in March 1894; a second edition also of *Ros Rosarum ex Horto Poetarum*,[4] a dainty and delightful volume dedicated to Lady Eastlake, in which the compiler, E. V. B., gives the choicest things which have been said of the rose in Scripture, in the Apocrypha, and by the poets of many climes and ages; a volume by Louis H. Victory on *The Higher Teaching of Shakespeare*,[5] the criticism of which, though good things are not wanting in it, is marked too often by a perverted ingenuity, and dominated by the mistaken idea that each drama was "indestructibly erected" on some "consistent moral and psychological basis"; a series of practical discourses by the Rev. William Middleton on *God in Human Life*, published under the title of *Alpha and Omega*;[6]

[1] Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark; London: A. & C. Black, 1896. Pp. 154. Price, 6d. net.

[2] Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark; London: A. & C. Black, 1896. Cr. 8vo. pp. x. 198. Price, 1s. 6d. net.

[3] Genève: Eggimann & Cie; Paris: Fischbacher; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 141.

[4] London: Elliot Stock. 12mo, pp. 292. Price, 6s.

[5] London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 190. Price, 5s.

[6] London: C. H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 138. Price, 1s. 6d.

a volume of *Sermons*[1] by the Bishop of Newport, most of them on subjects of general Christian interest, the *Obedience of Faith*, the *Place of Church Praise and Worship*, and the like—many of them of a high order both in thought and in practical power, and such as any Christian may read with profit; a fourth edition of Mr George Washington Moon's *Elijah the Prophet and other Sacred Poems*,[2] in which the original epic is presented in a carefully revised form, and some new pieces are added, including *Eden the Garden of God* (a poem in blank verse) and detached sacred poems on various subjects; Mr F. F. Belsey's *The Bible and the Blackboard*—a series of attractive lessons for eye and ear;[3] Dr A. F. Schauffler's *Ways of Working*,[4] a series of useful suggestions for Sunday School teachers and others; a *Book of Beginnings*,[5] being an attempt to show how the narratives in the book of Genesis may be taught the young when they are taken simply as men's thoughts about God.

We have the pleasure of welcoming the *Annales de Bibliographie Théologique*,[6] which appears in the name of an editorial committee consisting of MM. R. Allier, G. Chastand, E. Ehrhardt, E. de Faye, Ad. Lods, E. Ménégoz, Jean Monnier, Frank Puaux, Jean Réville, A. Sabatier. The June number contains brief but careful and informing articles by Professor Ménégoz on Koehler's *Jesus und das Alte Testament* and Jean Meinhold's book on the same subject; by Professor S. Berger on two historical treatises by M. J. Viénot; by M. Eugène de Faye on the new edition of Sabatier's L'Apôtre Paul; by M. E. Combe on Reville's Les Origines de l'Episcopat, and others.

The *Revue biblique internationale*[7] also deserves a word of greeting. This able Quarterly has reached its fifth year. The second part is now to hand. Besides smaller papers which will be read with interest, it contains several articles of peculiar value. Among these we have one by Mgr. de Harlez on the Bible and the Avesta; a second by M. Loisy, whose name should be better known to English scholars than it is, on the Synoptical Apocalypse (Mark xiii.;

[1] The Christian Inheritance. Set forth in Sermons by the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B. London: Burns & Oates. Cr. 8vo, pp. 430. Price, 6s.

[2] London: Longmans. 16mo, pp. 262. Price, 2s. 6d.

[3] London: The Sunday School Union. Post 8vo, pp. 128. Price, 1s. 6d.

[4] London: The Sunday School Union. Post 8vo, pp. 138. Price, 1s. 6d.

[5] London: The Sunday School Association. Pp. 133. Price, 2s. net.

[6] Recueil mensuel—nouvelle series. Paris: Fischbacher. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Un numero, 50 cent.

[7] Publiée sous la direction des Professeurs de l'École pratique de l'Études bibliques établie au couvent dominicain Saint-Étienne de Jerusalem. Paris: Lecoffre; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate; abonnement pour l'annee, pour la France, F.12, pour l'Étranger, F.14.

Matthew xxiv.-xxv.; Luke xxi. 5-38); and others by R. P. Lagrange on the question of Inspiration, the Baron Carra de Vaux on the Epistle to the Laodiceans, and M. Vigouroux on the Priests of Baal.

We have also to notice the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses.*[1] The third number of this new Review has come to hand. It contains an article by P. Pisani on Les Chrétiens de rite oriental à Venise et dans les possessions vénitiennes (1439-1791); Notes by Alfred Loisy on the Book of Genesis; a paper by L. Duchesne on Le temps de Charlemagne; and a readable *Bibliographie Scripturaire*, which gives a careful survey of a number of publications on Old and New Testament subjects.

The Bampton Lectures for 1895 are now in the hands of the public. The lecturer, the Rev. Thomas B. Strong, M.A., Student of Christ Church, has a noble and seasonable theme in *Christian Ethics.*[2] His object is to show that the Christian theory of moral life is an entirely new view of life based upon a new experience of facts. In other words, it is to bring out the connection of the Christian doctrines of the Incarnation with the Christian view of life In working out this great theme he examines the Greek and Jewish ideas of life, Christ's ideal, the theological virtues, the cardinal virtues, the ethical meaning of sin, the growth of moral theory in the Church, the relation of morality to reason, the division between creed and life, which he supposes to have taken place since the Reformation, and other subjects. But of this more hereafter.

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[1] Paris: 30 Rue des Écoles; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate; Un numéro, F.2.50.

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